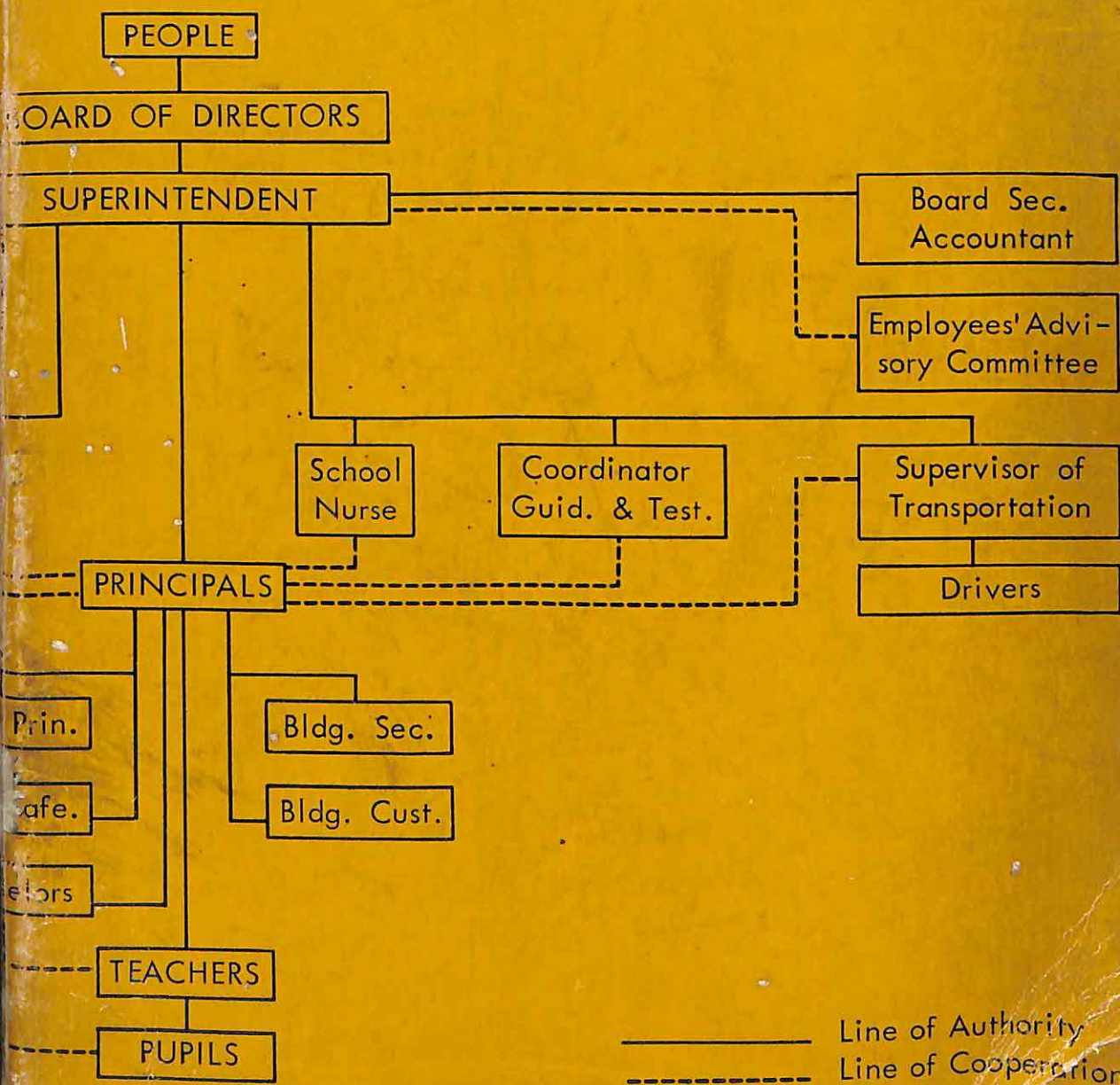


An introduction to school administration

Selected readings

M. Chester Nolte

University of Denver



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An Introduction to
School Administration
Selected Readings

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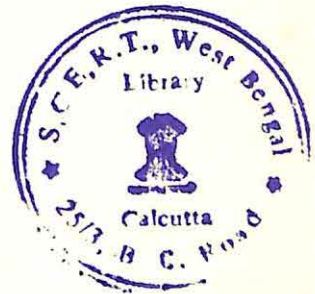
This being of mine, whatever it really is, consists of a little
flesh, a little breath, and the part which governs.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS (A.D. 121-180)

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An Introduction to
SCHOOL *2241*
ADMINISTRATION
Selected Readings

M. CHESTER NOLTE

Associate Professor of Educational Administration
University of Denver



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To
All the Men and Women
Who Seek Through the Medium of
Educational Administration
to Improve and Uplift the Lives of
Boys and Girls Everywhere
This Book Is
Respectfully Dedicated



PREFACE

TO PROVIDE students with a complete and well-planned background in educational administration, a teacher must recommend no fewer than 75 to 100 scattered supplementary reading sources. Some of these materials may be out of print, in limited supply, on library reserve for another course, or otherwise unavailable. Even if they are available, searching them out requires considerable time for both professor and student. Nor does it suffice to place known available sources on library reserve, for all members of the class will seek the same materials *en masse* with the result that nobody can become fully prepared. It is obvious, in short, that a collection of carefully selected readings would be of great value. Hopefully, this text fills that need.

Here, for the first time, all the original readings necessary to a preliminary understanding of the field of school administration are gathered into a single book. Selected with utmost care for content and appropriateness, and included only after considerable research and experimentation in the classroom by a former superintendent of schools and a university teacher, the readings range from short, succinct "diaries" to comprehensive treatises on the theory of group activity. Of the 64 selections, some are out of print or found only in obscure places; most are current. The overall intent is a comprehensive, yet carefully planned, introduction to the classical and modern readings comprising the background for the study of educational administration.

The arrangement of the readings reflects favorable experience with the material in several years of classroom use. Part I contains introductory materials designed to acquaint the student with problems faced by the school administrator; sufficient historical background is added to allow an understanding of the major trends in the development of school administration as a profession in this country. Because the book was written on the centennial of the National Superintendents' Association, the development of this organization is described in detail. Also included is Horace Mann's own account, in his first annual report (1837), of the need for school administrators to assist Massachusetts school committees of that day in running an increasingly complex system of public education. These readings indicate the wide range

and historical origin of some of the problems confronting school administrators in the twentieth century.

Part II describes the traditional concept of school administration as perceived by scholars prior to the 1950's. This portion of the volume discusses the leadership concept (Chapter 4), the traits approach (Chapter 5), and the management concept (Chapter 6). The era of the management concept is noteworthy as the transitional stage between the traditional and emerging concepts of educational administration.

Part III pertains to emerging concepts of school administration: administration as a process (Chapter 7), the dynamics of administration (Chapter 8), administration in terms of role (Chapter 9), administrative behavior (Chapter 10), and school administration as a profession (Chapter 11). The developments covered are almost exclusively products of the twentieth century. Major emphasis is on behaviorism and process, rather than on the possession of traits, as in the traditional concept.

Part IV consists of one section on theory in school administration (Chapter 12) and one on evaluation of school administration (Chapter 13). Wide-ranging attitudes toward what constitutes administrative trends and directions are described in the final portion of the book.

It is the hope of the author that students just beginning the study of school administration, as well as seasoned practitioners seeking deeper insights into an emerging and often enigmatic professional field, may find this book useful and pertinent to their needs.

Denver, Colorado

M. C. N.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

MANY PERSONALITIES converge in the production of any literary work. This is especially true of the present volume, constituted as it is from the selected thoughts of many writers. Let it be said at the outset that literally dozens of persons, either knowingly or unknowingly, aided in the preparation of this book—a casual friend, a trusted colleague, a venerated professor, a seminar student, a nationally known historian, a writer long departed. Each lives in these pages, for this book is a collection of individual contributions toward building the case for educational administration. To the extent that the overall case is incomplete or misstated, these people are not to blame; they merely wrote about administration as they saw it. Rather, let the editor assume the responsibility for what is lacking here.

The idea of preparing such a book as this was born in a series of advanced administration seminars at the University of Denver. Once alive, the idea was nourished in other classes, where at scattered intervals the outline was developed and preliminary lists of readings were gathered, and their relevancy to the total scheme discussed. One seminar group in particular, in the winter of 1964, deserves much credit for the planning that brought the work to maturation. A member of that class, Mr. H. John Runkel of the United States Regional Office of Education in Denver, compiled some of the material and assisted in the endless tasks associated with the project. His work made the difference between an enjoyable experience and a hopeless task. To Mr. Runkel goes the author's special gratitude, and acknowledgement that without his concern the book would never have been published.

Other members of the 1964 seminar likewise deserve special mention: Charles Beck and Arnold Deitsch, for their interest and high good humor; Ed Mohr and George Morrison, Jr., for coffee and conversation; Al Pepper and Victor Ross, for down-to-earth suggestions that kept the project on the rails. To each, the author extends his heartfelt thanks.

Finally, to his silent partner, Gwenneth Jean Nolte, the author acknowledges a special debt of gratitude. Without her sincere encouragement and boundless patience, there would have been no incentive to undertake such an ambitious project.

M. C. N.



CONTENTS

PART I

An Overview of School Administration

1	<i>Organization in Antiquity</i>	3
	PROLOGUE	3
	The Blind Men and the Elephant • JOHN GODFREY SAXE	5
	EARLY PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION	7
	Moses Organizes the People • REVISED STANDARD VERSION OF THE BIBLE	8
	PROBLEMS OF FUNCTION	11
	Governmental Organization in Antiquity • JAMES D. MOONEY	12
	SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	21
	FURTHER READINGS	21
2	<i>This Is School Administration!</i>	23
	Importance of the Superintendency • ROBERT E. WILSON	23
	WHAT THE SUPERINTENDENT DOES	24
	Actual Situations Encountered by a Superintendent During a Three-Year Period • ROBERT E. WILSON	24
	A Day on the Job . . . and How! • HAROLD HOWE, II	27
	The Son of a Member of the School Board • TERREL HOWARD BELL	30
	Civilizing the Blackboard Jungle • TIME	34
	THE IMPROVEMENT OF INSTRUCTION	42
	Instruction—The Reason for Being • FINIS ENGLEMAN, SHIRLEY COOPER and WILLIAM ELLENA	42

2	<i>This Is School Administration! (Continued)</i>	
	PROBLEMS FACED BY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS	46
	The Profession Is Divided • ARCHIBALD W. ANDERSON	46
	Superintendents Are Extremely Vulnerable • RAYMOND E. CALLAHAN	47
	Schools Are Built by Pressures • AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS	49
	The Depressive State of Educational Leadership • A. JOHN BARTKY	54
	CASES IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION	60
	SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	61
	FURTHER READINGS	61
3	<i>School Administration in America</i>	63
	HISTORY OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION	63
	The Secretary's First Annual Report • HORACE MANN	64
	AN ORGANIZATION FOR SUPERINTENDENTS	74
	The Centennial Story • AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS	75
	SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	104
	FURTHER READINGS	104
PART II		
Traditional Concepts of School Administration		
4	<i>The Leadership Concept</i>	109
	God, Give Us Men • JOSIAH GILBERT HOLLAND	109
	WHAT IS LEADERSHIP?	109
	The Nature and Technique of Leadership • NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF PROFESSORS OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION	111
	ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE LEADERSHIP ENIGMA	118
	Leadership: A Conception and Some Implications • IRVING KNICKERBOCKER	120
	The Moral Aspect of Group Leadership • A. JOHN BARTKY	135

4 The Leadership Concept (Continued)	
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	137
FURTHER READINGS	138
5 The Traits Approach	139
The Superintendent of Schools • ELLWOOD P. CUBBERLEY	140
THE CONCEPT OF COMPETENCY	146
The Competency Pattern • SOUTHERN STATES COOPERATIVE PRO- GRAM IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION	147
Qualities of the Leader • BOYD LINDOP	149
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	159
FURTHER READINGS	160
6 The Management Concept: An Era of Transition	161
GROWTH OF THE SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT CONCEPT	161
The Principles of Scientific Management • FREDERICK WINSLOW TAYLOR	162
TWO PHILOSOPHIES OF MANAGEMENT	166
Theory X: The Traditional View of Direction and Control • DOUGLAS MCGREGOR	167
Theory Y: The Integration of Individual and Organizational Goals • DOUGLAS MCGREGOR	174
COMMUNICATION ASSISTS ADMINISTRATION	182
Of Words and Men • F. J. ROETHLISBERGER	183
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	195
FURTHER READINGS	196

PART III

Emerging Concepts of School Administration

7 Administration as a Process	199
THE PROCESS OF ADMINISTRATION	199
Who's In Charge? • TIME	200

7 Administration as a Process (Continued)

Portrait of the Administrator as an Old Zuni • WILLIAM G. MONAHAN	201
TYPES OF DECISIONS	205
The Executive as Decision Maker • HERBERT A. SIMON	205
CITIZENS SHARE IN DECISION MAKING	210
The Status, Structure, and Functions of Citizens Advisory Committees • JOHN F. O'NEAL	211
A PROLIFERATION OF ADMINISTRATORS	217
Parkinson's Law or The Rising Pyramid • C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON	217
PROCESS BY ALPHABET	222
POSDCORB • LUTHER GULICK <i>and</i> L. URWICK	223
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	224
FURTHER READINGS	226

8 The Dynamics of Administration

GROUP DYNAMICS AND THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR	227
Issues and Basic Assumptions • DORWIN CARTWRIGHT <i>and</i> ALVIN ZANDER	228
POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION IN EDUCATION	230
Pressure Groups in Politics and Education • JOHN H. BUNZEL	231
ADMINISTRATORS INFLUENCE OTHERS	238
Face-to-Face with the Power Elite • ARCHIE DYKES	238
KNOW YOUR COMMUNITY	241
How Community Power Structures Influence Administrative Tenure • DONALD J. MCCARTY	241
AN ALTERNATIVE	247
Are Principals Obsolete? • R. G. DES DIXON	247
ADMINISTRATORS MUST GROW ON THE JOB	253
Improving Administrative Leadership • W. H. SEAWELL <i>and</i> GEORGE W. HOLMES, III	254
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	257
FURTHER READINGS	258

9 Administration in Terms of Role	259
LINE AND STAFF ORGANIZATION	259
Line and Staff Administrative Organization in Monroe, Wash- ington • DEL G. PETERSON	260
ARE ADMINISTRATORS CONSISTENT?	262
Logical Consistency, Values, and Authoritarianism in a Sample of Public School Superintendents • GEORGE L. NEWSOME, JR. and HAROLD W. GENTRY	263
WHAT IS THE SUPERINTENDENT'S ROLE?	270
The Superintendent's Job CAN Be Well-Defined • PAUL J. MISNER	270
ROLE CONCEPTS AMONG ADMINISTRATORS	272
How Principals Perceive Their Superintendents • G. P. NIMNIGHT	272
THE PRINCIPALSHIP ROLE	275
The Principalship: Its Changing Role • JOHN S. BENBEN	275
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	280
FURTHER READINGS	280
10 Administrative Behavior	282
WHAT IS ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR?	282
The Superintendent's Questions • ROBERT S. GILCHRIST	283
THE IMPROVEMENT OF INSTRUCTION	286
What Administrators Do to Improve Instruction • WILLIAM T. BUSH	286
THE PRINCIPAL'S BEHAVIOR IN IMPROVING INSTRUCTION	288
Teachers and Parents Describe the Effective Principal's Be- havior • THE ADMINISTRATOR'S NOTEBOOK	289
THE SUPERINTENDENT AND THE BOARD	293
The General Executive and the Board • ORDWAY TEAD	294
SCHOOLMEN AND POLITICS	297
School Leadership by Superintendents • WILLIAM C. BRUCE	298
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	299
FURTHER READINGS	299

11 <i>School Administration as a Profession</i>	301
WHAT IS A PROFESSION?	
<i>Profession Defined</i> • AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS	301
HINDRANCES TO PROFESSIONAL STATUS	302
<i>School Administration—A Profession</i> • WILLIAM H. FISHER	305
HOW CAN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION BE PROFESSIONALIZED?	306
The Superintendent—His Role and Professional Status • ROALD F. CAMPBELL	308
A CODE OF ETHICS	308
Policies to Govern the Ethical Professional Behavior of School Administrators • AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS	318
IMPLEMENTING THE CODE OF ETHICS	318
Implementing Standards of Ethical Behavior for School Administrators • AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS	325
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	326
FURTHER READINGS	328
	329

PART IV

Theory and Evaluation in School Administration

12 <i>Theory in School Administration</i>	333
TOWARD AN OVERALL THEORY OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION	333
Research in Administrative Theory • AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS	334
THE PROBLEM OF THEORY DEVELOPMENT	340
Theory in Educational Administration • JAMES E. MCCLELLAN	340
TWO TAXONOMIC MODELS	346
A Common Frame of Reference • DANIEL E. GRIFFITHS	347
ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY	355
Ferment in the Study of Organization • DANIEL R. DAVIES and LAURANCE IANNACONE	356

12 <i>Theory in School Administration (Continued)</i>	
Additional Observations on the Study of Administration: A Reply to "Ferment in the Study of Organization" • WALLACE S. SAYRE	369
ROLE CONFLICT IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION	372
A New Concept of Staff Relations • R. J. HILLS	372
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	378
FURTHER READINGS	379
13 <i>Evaluation of School Administration</i>	381
SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION	381
Administrative-Success Criteria • ARTHUR P. COLADARCI	382
MOST EFFECTIVE-LEAST EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATORS	385
The Behavioral Characteristics of Effective Educational Admin- istrators • RALPH B. KIMBROUGH	385
ASK THE MAN WHO RUNS THE SCHOOL	395
How Should School Boards Measure the Competence of an Administrator? • THE NATION'S SCHOOLS	395
THE DISTAFF SIDE OF THE PICTURE	402
Women in Administration • HARRIS A. TAYLOR	402
WHAT IS FAILURE?	406
Why Superintendents Fail • FREDERICK J. MOFFITT	406
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES	412
FURTHER READINGS	412

PART I

An Overview of
School Administration

Human history is in essence a history of ideas.

H. G. WELLS, *The Outline of History*

Until philosophers take to government or those who now govern become philosophers, so that government and philosophy unite, there will be no end to the miseries of the states.

PLATO, *The Republic*, c. 370 B.C.

All our past acclaims our future.

A. C. SWINBURNE, *England: An Ode*

It must be remembered that no community deserves a better school system than it is willing to pay for, work for, and care about.

This Happened in Pasadena

There is a history in all men's lives.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *King Henry IV*



CHAPTER 1

Organization in Antiquity

PROLOGUE

Since the beginning of history, man has banded together for mutual purposes. Our primitive ancestors, beset by an alien and hostile world, were able, by organizing, to present a united front against the threatening forces around them. Organization, therefore, is one of the most venerated forms of human activity. When reduced to its fundamental aspects, organization is the form of human association necessary for the attainment of a common purpose. The similarity of men's minds and the need for protection drive men together, and common purpose holds them together and perpetuates their organization. When an organization ceases to have definable purposes, its early demise is certain.

One is impressed by the universality of human organizational principles throughout the world and in all eras of history. Despite the time or place in which they were instituted, organizations tended to demonstrate common elements. It was inevitable, therefore, that man should attempt to extract general principles about his organizations in any age or in any part of the world. That these principles evolved slowly is axiomatic; that they are still evolving is evident even in a highly organized world today. It was sufficient at the beginning that primitive man grasped the concept that, by banding together, he and his fellows *could do more collectively than they could do severally as individuals*. To learn even this elementary lesson took man many hundreds of years. Experimentation was necessary, and evaluation was difficult.

One of the earliest attempts to develop a principle of organization is apparent in the observation of Herodotus (484-424 B.C.) about the seeming success of the Persians in matters of organization:

They (the Persians) are accustomed to deliberate on matters of the highest moment when warm with wine; but whatever they in this situation may determine is again proposed to them on the morrow in their

cooler moments, by the person in whose house they have before assembled. If at this time also it meet their approbation, it is executed; otherwise it is rejected. Whatever also they discuss when sober, is always a second time examined after they have been drinking.*

Similarly, the ancient Goths utilized the "spiritous" approach to decision-making in organizational affairs, as revealed by Sterne:

The ancient Goths of Germany . . . had all of them a wise custom of debating everything of importance to their state, twice; that is, once drunk, and once sober:—Drunk, that their councils might not want vigour; and sober, that they might not want discretion.†

Hardly scientific, but logical! Equally primitive was the solution to the problem of "leadership"—a person around whom the group could rally. What qualities should the leader possess? Yielding their allegiance to the *strongest* member of the group answered momentary needs, since the forces which threatened them could be answered by strength of force. The members of the group, therefore, willingly gave up their individual freedom in exchange for protection and membership in the group. Later, when the organizational structure became more complex, leadership became the possession of a *ruling class*, and even later, that of a *ruling family*. Today, leadership is held to be widely dispersed among the population, needing only to be discovered and developed among group members. In fact, good "leadership" in the modern world consists almost entirely of the discovery and development of potential leadership among the *rank and file* of members making up the group.

This book is concerned with organizational theory only insofar as it applies to the modern school administrator. As a recent newcomer among the professions, educational administration has had to borrow and adapt much of its organizational theory from other sources—the church, the government, industry, and business. To the extent that these sources have served to color and shape its concepts of organization, school administration has prospered. Some independent research, especially between 1950 and 1960, has brought about a limited insight into the question, "What is school administration?" But much work remains to be done. There are those who doubt that an overall "theory" of educational administration will ever emerge. At the present time, there are several taxonomies, or "frames of reference," which serve to explain some aspects of this emerging field. One speaks of the "tri-

* Herodotus, *Clio*, Book I, Chapter 32.

† Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, Book V, Chapter 17.

dimensional concept," the *laissez-faire*-authoritarian continuum," and other similar taxonomies as one who has peeked into the circus tent and seen a part of the huge elephant housed therein, but not as one who has seen the entire elephant all at a glance. Such is the field of school administration as this work is being written.

The following well-known poem illustrates the situation with respect to an overall theory of school administration:

THE BLIND MEN AND THE ELEPHANT

John Godfrey Saxe

It was six men of Indostan
To learning much inclined,
Who went to see the elephant
(Though all of them were blind),
That each by observation
Might satisfy his mind.

The First approached the elephant,
And, happening to fall
Against his broad and sturdy side,
At once began to bawl:
"God bless me! but the elephant
Is nothing but a wall!"

The Second, feeling of the tusk,
Cried: "Ho! what have we here
So very round and smooth and sharp?
To me 'tis mighty clear
This wonder of an elephant
Is very like a spear!"

The Third approached the animal,
And, happening to take
The squirming trunk within his hands,
Thus boldly up and spake:
"I see," quoth he, "the elephant
Is very like a snake!"

The Fourth reached out his eager hand,
And felt about the knee:

"What most this wondrous beast is like
Is mighty plain," quoth he;
" 'Tis clear enough the elephant
Is very like a tree."

The Fifth, who chanced to touch the ear,
Said: "E'en the blindest man
Can tell what this resembles most;
Deny the fact who can,
This marvel of an elephant
Is very like a fan!"

The Sixth no sooner had begun
About the beast to grope,
Than, seizing on the swinging tail
That fell within his scope,
"I see," quoth he, "the elephant
Is very like a rope!"

And so these men of Indostan
Disputed loud and long,
Each in his own opinion
Exceeding stiff and strong,
Though each was partly in the right,
And all were in the wrong!

So, oft in theologic wars
The disputants, I ween,
Rail on in utter ignorance
Of what each other mean,
*And prate about an elephant
Not one of them has seen!*

One should not despair, however, because no one has ever "seen the whole elephant." Perhaps a completely revealing overall theory of school administration is impossible. Suffice it to say that the several frames of reference which have emerged have been of considerable worth in allowing men and women to communicate their ideas about the tasks of school administration, its aims and procedures, and its ultimate improvement. Without these taxonomies, one would be hampered in approaching the problems of educational administration at all! And none of the frames seems to be incompatible with any other—they all make sense, and they are all quite useful in our study of this subject.

Beyond generalities, the evolution of school administration is a fascinating chapter in man's understanding of organizations. This book is

designed to promote a better appreciation and understanding of the steps through which school administration has advanced in its difficult climb towards becoming a full-fledged profession.

EARLY PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION

Primitive man could not fully comprehend the underlying principles upon which organizational success depends. Nonetheless, he did seem to understand that groups must be orderly in their internal arrangement, and that such an arrangement produced a *unity* of action in the drive toward a common goal.

The first principle of organization relates to the unity and cohesiveness of the group. Such a principle became the initial basis for the earliest attempts to systematize organizations, and is known as the principle of *coordination*. Men found early that the extent to which they were able to work together as a unit determined their *effectiveness* in reaching the goals of the organization. Only total subservience to group effort would suffice where life itself might depend upon the effectiveness of the group. Hence, men sought to build loyalty to the group by several means—punishment, banishment, or pride. This *nomothetic* (impersonal) dimension of organization places emphasis upon the group as a whole in contrast to the *idiographic* (personal) dimension. The individual is led to surrender some of his personal sovereignty to further the effectiveness of the group. The universality of the principle of coordination is no less evident today than in any other age. Each group (organization, institution, company, corporation, or unit) needs the loyalty of its members to strengthen, through unification, the effectiveness of the group. Thus, one of the primary tasks of the administrator today becomes that of leading the individual members of the group to subserve their own wants, desires, and needs to “the greater good” of the group. Another task of administration closely related to this problem is that of striking a balance between the nomothetic and the idiographic dimensions of the human organization, in which not only the goals of the organization but also the individual needs of the membership of the group are adequately met. A more complete exploration of what this means in modern school administration will be undertaken in a later section of this book.

A second principle of organization known to our ancestors was the *scalar*, or hierarchical, principle. Sometimes this principle is called the “pyramid” concept, inasmuch as it can be visualized in that form. The principle is that in every organization there must be some who lead

and others who follow, that is, superordinates command and subordinates carry out the commands. At the apex of the pyramid is the supreme ruler, with the masses at various levels under him from top to bottom. Whatever their size, earlier organizations were constructed on the concept that there were superior people, called rulers or leaders, and inferior people, called followers, at the various levels of the pyramid. Although this idea may seem elementary to us today, nevertheless it took many centuries to refine this concept. An example of the development of this concept among the followers of Moses is contained in the following selection.

Moses led his people out of bondage in the land of Egypt into temporary asylum near the margin of freedom. There were problems of organization with such a large number of people, and Moses worked hard to bring about peace and unity among them. He called upon Jethro, his father-in-law, for advice. The following selection from the Book of Exodus illustrates how the problem was solved.

MOSES ORGANIZES THE PEOPLE

¹³ ON THE morrow Moses sat to judge the people, and the people stood about Moses from morning till evening. ¹⁴ When Moses' father-in-law saw all that he was doing for the people, he said, "What is this that you are doing for the people? Why do you sit alone, and all the people stand about you from morning till evening?" ¹⁵ And Moses said to his father-in-law, "Because the people come to me to inquire of God; ¹⁶ when they have a dispute, they come to me and I decide between a man and his neighbor, and I make them know the statutes of God and his decisions." ¹⁷ Moses' father-in-law said to him, "What you are doing is not good. ¹⁸ You and the people with you will wear yourselves out, for the thing is too heavy for you; you are not able to perform it alone. ¹⁹ Listen now to my voice; I will give you counsel, and God be with you! You shall represent the people before God, and bring their cases to God; ²⁰ and you shall teach them the statutes and the decisions, and make them know the way in which they must walk and what they must do. ²¹ Moreover choose able men from all the people, such as fear God, men who are trustworthy and who hate a bribe; and place such men over the people as rulers of thousands, of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens. ²² And let them judge the people at all times; every great matter they shall bring to you, but any small matter they shall decide themselves; so it will be easier for you,

SOURCE: From the *Revised Standard Version of the Bible*, copyrighted 1946 and 1952 by the Division of Christian Education, National Council of Churches, and used by permission.

and they will bear the burden with you. ²³ If you do this, and God so commands you, then you will be able to endure, and all this people also will go to their place in peace."

²⁴ So Moses gave heed to the voice of his father-in-law and did all that he had said. ²⁵ Moses chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens. ²⁶ And they judged the people at all times; hard cases they brought to Moses, but any small matter they decided themselves. ²⁷ Then Moses let his father-in-law depart, and he went his way to his own country.

Exodus XVIII, 13-27 (1491 B.C.)

This simple story illustrates elements of the scalar principle of organization. First, Moses chose *able* men from *all* the people . . . who were trustworthy and who hated bribery. He did not choose clever, popular, aggressive, or masterful people. He placed the welfare of the group above that of any one person. Next, the men whom Moses chose were representative of all the people, not just his relatives or friends. Equally important was the fact that these men were incorruptible, placing the common good above their own selfish ends. When they assumed responsibility for a portion of their government they were able to gain self-confidence and poise in handling small matters in their everyday lives. Thus, in sharing in the making of decisions, they also shared in the triumphs and defeats which came to the Israelites as a nation.

When the leader shares his responsibilities, and delegates authority commensurate with the responsibilities incurred, he assists the members of the group to develop their latent potentialities for leadership. Such a *delegation* of authority and responsibility by a superordinate to subordinates does not absolve the higher authority of his ultimate responsibility for the effectiveness of the enterprise; it merely means that he shares both his responsibility and his authority with others in the group. Where the authority delegated to subordinates is equal to their responsibilities, greater effectiveness results. When the goals of an organization are known and understood by subordinates, even greater effectiveness is possible. Of course it is assumed that the leader *communicates* his desires and aspirations for the organization to those who share in its operation. Thus, communicative skills are an important part of the administrator's role.

One issue of concern to the administrator in relation to the scalar principle is that of the *situs of power*, that is, where the power is located in the organization. The story from Exodus illustrates a willingness by the leader to decentralize his power, and to share it with his followers. When this incident occurred, roughly 1500 years B.C., it

was unusual for a leader to share his authority with subordinates. The organizational units of this era were highly centralized, and the leader exercised almost unlimited power over those under him.

The earliest school systems in America were centralized systems, in contrast to recent trends toward decentralization. In present-day educational systems, the key administrative position is that of the building principal, who enjoys a wide latitude in decision-making. Because under the democratic concept setting of goals in school affairs is a function of everyone, the principal provides decision-making mechanisms by which the members of the group can exercise this important privilege. He recognizes the *formal* hierarchical organizational structure outlined by the superintendent and the board of education, and works through this structure as well as the *informal* structure of the group to help the group reach important decisions.

The principal is a "status" leader, that is, an official with a legalized position in the hierarchy. On the other hand, he may expect members of the group to play the role of leader when he is absent or when they are seeking answers to mutual problems. The extent to which he delegates decision-making to group members indicates whether he is *laissez-faire*, democratic, or authoritarian in his leadership. When he makes all the decisions unilaterally, he is said to be authoritarian; when he shares some decision-making with others, he is said to be democratic; and, when he leaves decisions "dangling," he is said to be *laissez-faire*. Such a procedure for decision-making may be illustrated as follows:



Obviously, some decisions lend themselves to democratic procedures and others do not. Certain elements, such as the amount of time available for the making of the decision, the familiarity of the group with the democratic process, and the nature of the problem itself, limit the administrator in using a particular approach to decision-making. For example, when time permits, most principals like to allow faculty participation in decision-making relating to curriculum, choice of instructional materials, and similar problems. The rule is that those who are to be affected by a decision should have a share in the making of the decision. This simple rule is virtually the only *constant* in organizational theory today.

The third principle of organization known to our ancestors is the *functional* principle. Briefly, this principle says that those who make up the organization perform different tasks, or functions, according to the work to be done. The work to be done determines the amounts

and kinds of workers (functionals) that make up the organization. Each person has a special task related to the goals of the institution. These tasks are formalized, usually through the formal group structure, although they may be developed through informal arrangement among or between individuals. Thus, we have teachers, principals, superintendents, and boards of education engaged in the work of the schools. Each performs a specialized task in relation to institutional goals. For example, the board is expected to formulate policy and the superintendent, as the board's chief executive officer, is expected to carry it out. Policy is broad and general, being directional in nature, while the procedures by which the chief administrator executes the policy are specific, operational, and detailed in nature. Thus, a working relationship between a board and its superintendent would clearly define the spheres of influence in which each would operate. When the superintendent intrudes into the area of policy-making, or when the board takes over the detailed operation of the schools, each is operating in the other's domain, and confusion results. Smooth operation of the schools demands close cooperation and communication between the board and its chief executive officer. Where this is true, the "grass-roots" system of school operation as we know it in America is highly effective.

One aspect of the functional principle is that of line and staff. Although this concept was adapted from the military and governmental organization, its application to schools is often misunderstood. In general, it may be said that "line" officers in the organization represent the line of authority; they are status leaders with the right to hire and fire, and they are expected to assume ultimate responsibility for the effectiveness of the enterprise because they represent the superintendent who in turn is directly responsible to the board. They are "authority" figures and, as such, represent discipline, command, and the final word in the power structure of the organization.

On the other hand, "staff" officers are auxiliary workers who perform a specific task related to the work of the institution. School personnel such as coordinators and guidance counselors are considered staff workers. Whereas line workers are authoritarian and commanding, staff workers are primarily permissive in their relationship to the other group members.

PROBLEMS OF FUNCTION

The principle of function raises some special problems which concern the administrator: the balance between lay and professional control, line and staff workers, administrators and the administered, and

the roles of general practitioners and the highly specialized personnel. From the functional point of view, administration is thus seen as the effective coordination of all personnel in the institution to the end that nomothetic goals are reached with the least possible friction and loss of effectiveness, while at the same time the needs and dispositions of each individual worker are fully satisfied. This is not a small task, especially as organizations gain in size and complexity. The diversity of tasks in the modern organization precludes the general administrator from fully knowing the details of all the roles being played by each member of the organization. The administrator must thus rely to a great extent upon his "advisors" and their pooled consensus of opinion for the settlement of problems facing the group. The problem of function, however, has always been present, and it will continue to challenge administrators of the future. The following excerpt from Mooney will illustrate the problems of governmental organization in antiquity as the Greeks and Romans sought to perfect organizational theory.

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION IN ANTIQUITY

James D. Mooney

OUR STUDY of governmental organization, back to remotest ages, reveals one fact of deepest import: in this sphere there is nothing new under the sun. This fact confirms our thesis that the principles of organization are universal, and hence must appear in the governmental forms of every age.

It is only in the realm of authority that variants appear, but these likewise are as old as human records. All of them, including absolutisms, aristocracies, democracies, and tyrannies, date back to antiquity, and all of them have been repeated in later ages.

If there is any form of government that may appear modern it is indicated in the term "integration," which in its most extreme political forms is known as "totalitarianism." This term implies no change in the principles of organization. It merely indicates, in our complex modern society, a more intensive application of these principles to governmental objectives in industrial and economic spheres that were unknown in older, simpler, and more primitive times. The consequences of this trend are often of such gravity that they must be reserved for later consideration.

SOURCE: From *The Principles of Organization* by James D. Mooney. Copyright 1939 by James D. Mooney and Alan C. Reiley; renewed 1947 by James D. Mooney. Reprinted with the permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Incorporated.

Some observations concerning the directive of this historical study are here in order. Our attention must center always on the operation of the three principles of organization: the *coordinative*, the *scalar*, and the *functional*, with attention in the third case to the staff phase of functionalism.

• In the case of the coordinative and scalar principles, the outstanding fact is their obviousness. No form of organization can be conceived without authority of some kind, wherever it may rest. These two principles grow out of this necessity. The same is likewise true of functionalism, for it is impossible to conceive of any human group undertaking without clear definition of individual duties. On the historical side, however, there is a difference, for we have only scant descriptions of specific functions in the history of ancient absolutist governments. Consequently our historical scrutiny of governmental organization must begin at some point where all three of these principles are prominently in evidence.

Of the different forms of government, the first in historical order, where we have descriptions of highly organized institutional functions, are the city-states of ancient Greece. It is true that in their forms of organization these ancient states present some contrast with modern governments, but these contrasts only serve to illustrate the operation of the same fundamental principles under widely differing conditions.

FORMS OF GREEK GOVERNMENT

The majority of the Greek states, of which Athens was the most prominent, went through four stages of governmental evolution. They were ruled successively by kings, aristocracies, tyrannies, and democracies. To this order Sparta, which remained always aristocratic, furnished a notable exception.

The first form in Athens, the kingship, was prehistoric. The second, or aristocratic, and the fourth, or democratic, phases furnish the richest fields to the student of organization.

The aristocratic form existed at the dawn of authentic history, and lasted until the fifth century B.C. During this period the two leading governmental institutions were the Areopagus and the Archonate, these constituting the legislative and executive functions. Our principle interest in this period lies in the duties of the archons, of whom there was originally but one, a number afterwards increased to three and finally to nine, each with his own functions. Here we witness the evolution of a highly diversified functionalism in the ancient state.

The outstanding institutions under the democracy, the golden age of Athenian power and glory, were of an entirely different order. These were the boule, or council of five hundred, the ecclesia, or popular assembly, and the principal Athenian court or dicastery, known as the Heliaea.

The ecclesia was the general assembly of all the citizens, and, during the period of Athenian greatness, it was the real sovereign authority. This government by direct action of all the citizens was characteristic of all the democracies of antiquity, and was indeed the only feasible procedure before the

advent of representative government. This fact explains why democracies among the ancients were confined to cities only.

It should be here observed that the first of the three historic milestones in the evolution of modern democratic institutions, the principle of *majority rule*, originated with the Greeks. They, however, and the Romans after them, were blind to another necessity which to us has become equally obvious. In the democracies of antiquity the citizen could exercise his rights only through his own personal presence. In his absence no one could represent him or speak for him. The second milestone in constitutionalism, the rise of *representative government*, first attained national form in thirteenth century England.

The principle of representation expanded the application of constitutionalism to the government of a nation. There are, however, geographical limits beyond which the principle of popular rule, exercised through a single representative body, cannot be efficiently applied. The third milestone in this evolution appeared when to the representative was added the *federal* principle. This principle first appears in history in the evolution of the Swiss Confederation into the modern Switzerland, but it had its first application on a vast territorial scale in the organization of the United States of America. Compare this system with the Athenian democracy, which could make itself effective only so far as the actual voice of the citizen could be heard.

Now we come to another feature of the Athenian constitution which should likewise be of vital interest to every student of organization. We mean the functional relation between the two assemblies, the *boule*, or council of five hundred, and the *ecclesia*.

FUNCTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN ATHENS

The members of the *boule* were chosen by lot, fifty from each of the ten tribes. Its legislative function was to prepare measures for the consideration of the *ecclesia*. Thus it was a staff function, pure and simple. The *ecclesia*, on the other hand, possessed no initiative in legislation. As a virtual mass meeting of citizens it was unsuited for such a purpose. Its function was either to accept or reject these proposals, and such action was final.

This complete segregation of line and staff legislative functions may seem strange according to modern standards, but here again we witness the distinction between a principle and the manner of its application. As a principle the contraposition of the line and staff functions is universal in organization, but the most efficient manner of its application can be learned only by experience.

Finally, we come to another institution of ancient Athens, which many students of organization will regard as the most remarkable of all. This institution was the *Heliaea*, the principal dicastery, or law court, of Athens during the democratic period, consisting of six thousand jurors who sat in rotation, in courts of five hundred. The *Heliaea* also possessed a legislative function and it is the latter function that should command our special interest.

When a legislative measure was proposed by the *boule* and approved by the *ecclesia*, it became what was known as a *psephism*. A *psephism* was not law in the formally enacted sense, but it was something higher. It stated the mandatory principle to which the law must conform. The actual enactment of laws was the function of the *nomothetai*, a panel selected from the *Heliaea*.

It is obvious that the distinction between a *law* and a *psephism* simmers down to the difference between a *rule* and a *principle*. In modern forms of organization the counterpart of a *psephism* is the enunciation of some operating principle that forms the basis for all rules of procedure within its province. If every member of an organization understood these principles, formal rules and regulations would be needless. The necessity for the rule, however, is plain. The average man, though he often cannot or will not lay hold on a principle, can always understand a rule, and this fact makes rules of the most explicit kind necessary for his guidance. But the fact remains that not only rules but laws must be based on principles. The Athenians understood this necessity and adhered to it in the process through which they evolved their laws.

One general observation will suffice to cover the application of the principles of organization as revealed in the ancient Greek cities. In their application of the *functional* principle they furnish us with a rich mine of experience, in which we may find much to learn.

It is otherwise with that great antecedent, the *scalar* principle. Here the organization of the Greek cities tells us little of importance—for the best of reasons. They were small compact organizations in which the entire group could be assembled in one place, and where face-to-face leadership was the rule and practice. Even under these conditions the scalar form is ever-present, as every principle must be, but its applications, in such compact groups, are always few and simple.

ROMAN GOVERNMENT

To find the extreme of contrast we need not depart from ancient history. We shall now consider the evolution of another ancient city into the greatest empire the world has known, organized by a people whose sense of order has never been surpassed. Even the Romans, in the creation and organization of their empire, found the most efficient application of the scalar principle a hard nut to crack, a problem that only experience could solve. This fact makes the institutions of Rome of vital importance to every student of our subject.

The real secret of the greatness of the Romans was their genius for organization. This is evident in what they accomplished, and results are the final test. The source of this genius, however, is not easy to discover in a study of her institutions. Her governmental structure does not always show the clarity in the application of the scalar and functional principles which, according to modern standards, are the prime requisites of efficient organization.

The greatness of the Romans as administrators is proved by the fact that

they made their institutions work. They not only conquered, but they organized an empire and kept it orderly. They did more; they actually Romanized the Western world. There is nothing, therefore, for the student of organization to do but to accept these facts and search for the explanation.

The history of Rome resolves itself into two principal periods, the Republic and the Empire. In the history of her forms of organization there is a similar division. The first refers to the period when Rome was still just a city, with a city government; the second, to the alteration of these forms to meet the exigencies of world dominion. Growth in any sphere always involves the same process, with its attendant problems, and the growing pains of Rome have many parallels in modern forms of organization.

In the development of a city into a world empire, and its evolution to meet the needs of vaster dominion, the organization of ancient Rome affords its greatest lesson to the modern organizer.

There is much else, of course, in Roman institutions in which the general student of organization must have an intense interest. For example, the Roman *Senate*, or council of elders, and how, from a mere staff function, it acquired, during the republic, a real line authority. Also the three popular legislative assemblies, the *Comitia centuriata*, the *Comitia tributa*, and the *Consilium plebis*, and how, contrary to all modern usage, these bodies possessed differing spheres of legislative authority. From the standpoint of modern organization and its problems, however, all of these have less significance than the development of the forms demanded by the growth of a single city into the mistress of the world.

FUNCTIONALISM IN ROME

From this standpoint our main interest in Roman organization centers in its magistracies. Probably nowhere else in history do we find executive functionalism so highly diversified. The very names of these magistrates, the *consuls*, *praetors*, *tribunes*, *quaestors*, *aediles*, *curule aediles*, and *censors*, impress us with their number and variety, and this impression deepens if we study the interrelations of their varied functions. Among them all, however, our interest centers on the consul. The evolution of the scalar principle of delegation traced through this office enables us to understand how the organization of a city evolved into that of the greatest empire ever known on this earth.

The consuls, after the early revolution that destroyed the kingship, became the principal magistrates. They were elected annually by the *Comitia centuriata*, and they remained Rome's most important magistrates to the end of the republic. The consul's functions, though partly administrative and judicial, were mainly military. He commanded the armies. In this the consul differed from the praetor, who was primarily a civil magistrate. The number of praetors differed at times in Roman history, but there were always two consuls, a duality expressed in the name "consul," which means partner.

This partnership of the Roman consuls resembled the earlier duality of the Spartan kings. Although the origin of the collegiate or partnership princi-

ple is obscure, it is at least evident why the Romans clung to it so long and tenaciously. Their trouble was like that of Moses before he listened to the wisdom of Jethro; they seemingly could not learn to delegate and subdelegate authority. The early Romans could not imagine the possessor of the *imperium*, of command, as other than present and personally in command at any important scene of action. Their tendency was to cling as long as they could to the old face-to-face leadership they had always known. No consul could possess the attribute of omnipresence, but at least two seemed better than one.

Alternations of consuls in home and field service appear frequently in Roman history. At other times it was necessary for both consuls to be absent in different fields. On those occasions when they acted in conjunction the consuls alternated in the command on successive days; a vicious system that was mainly responsible for the terrific disaster that overwhelmed the Roman arms at the great battle of Cannae. The collegiate system, despite the implications of the term, was better adapted to separate than to joint action.

The consular system proved generally adequate when the Roman dominion was small. With the extension of her sway it came to include many provinces outside Italy, usually under military rule. This led to the growth of the *proconsular* system, which, in its earlier form, was not a subdelegation but a prolongation of the consular authority. Under this system the consuls and praetors, after their single year of office, received an extension of their *imperium*, under which, as proconsuls or propraeors, they went out to rule a province.

To conceive a modern parallel we may imagine a general manager, appointed for one year, who then succeeds automatically to the management of a branch office. In modern terms this might seem like a demotion, but it was otherwise in ancient Rome. The governing of a province, with all the opportunity for plunder, had become the highest prize open to Rome magistrates. The power developed by these provincial governors finally destroyed the republic.

These evils were abolished by the reforms of Augustus. In the meantime the whole system of provincial government had undergone a great change. The prolongation of consular authority in the provinces, under the title of proconsul, had been a transitional makeshift, which now gave way to a system of true scalar delegation. The Pompeian law of 53 B.C. made the proconsulship a separate office, to which no one was eligible who had held the office of consul or praetor within five years.

When this change occurred, another and even greater change was impending. At the beginning of the Christian era Rome had become the mistress of the world. The republic had achieved this universal conquest and had destroyed itself in the process. The prize its armies had won was seized by the military power, represented by Caesar and his successors.

The Roman Empire was a military autocracy—that and nothing else. It was never a monarchy. In theory it was still a republic, and so it long remained. The early emperors assumed no regal state. They preserved the

simplicity of democratic rulers. They assumed no new titles except the courtesy one of *princeps*. Julius Caesar had been assassinated for seizing the dictatorship, but his nephew Augustus committed no such act. Occasionally he allowed himself to be elected consul, but he usually left this office to others. Shorn of the imperium, the consulship became a mere titular honor. The popular assemblies followed the same route, through progressive atrophy to extinction. Only the senate retained for a time some importance under the new regime.

DELEGATION IN THE EMPIRE

The title *imperator* or emperor, which in later ages became identified with sovereign royalty, in its original Roman use meant simply the possessor of the imperium, an old institution of the Republic. The imperium, however, was not an office. It was an authority which attached to the consular and proconsular offices within certain limitations. The consul, as commander of the army, possessed this authority within the sphere of his military operations, but not elsewhere, and above all never within the city of Rome. He always laid down his imperium when he entered the city gates.

With the advent of the empire these limitations disappeared. This authority, the Caesar now held—always and everywhere. The provincial magistrates, unlike the consuls of the Republic, no longer possessed their own imperium. Theirs became a purely delegated function.

In the sphere of organization the most important developments in the history of the empire were the fundamental administrative changes introduced by the Emperor Diocletian (A.D. 284–305). The old republican forms disappeared and with them the last vestiges of the old constitutionalism. With the removal of the imperial residence, Rome ceased to be the capital and became in effect a provincial town; Italy also was reduced to the status of a province. With the reduction of Rome and Italy to the ranks the leveling process became complete.

The aim of the reforms of Diocletian was to strengthen the imperial authority, and the system of organization that he introduced for this purpose is of the highest importance in the study of our subject. In at least two respects Diocletian's system seems almost modern as compared with the earlier forms of Roman government.

Chief among these was the further extension of the *scalar* principle. The old provincial governors disappeared, and in their places appeared successive gradations of delegated authority. First below the emperor came the *praetorian prefects*, under these the *vicarii* or rulers of the *dioceses*, and then the governors of provinces, under whom in turn were various minor officials. This final extension of the scalar chain under Diocletian completed the process which had begun in the days of the later republic, first in the proconsular system, then in the authority delegated to provincial governors, and at last in this elaborate system of subdelegation, which broke up the ultimate govern-

mental divisions into smaller units. This delegation downward to an ultimate in "smaller packages" proved to be an efficient means of stabilizing the central authority. Under such a system there was less temptation for any provincial governor to "start something," when the starting could lead nowhere.

FUNCTIONAL SEGREGATION

Another reform of Diocletian is notable as an early instance of functional segregation. Diocletian effected a complete separation of the civil and military departments. The praetorian prefects, vicars, and provincial governors were civil magistrates only, a fact which further limited their powers. Parallel with these magistrates was the scalar military organization, composed of like successive gradations, the *magistri militum*, *duces*, *comitum*, etc., also representing a continuous chain of delegated authority.

The functional distinctions introduced by Diocletian did not extend to a separation of the executives from the judiciary. They were a forecast, however, of the greater clarity in all functional distinctions that were to appear in due time in secular government.

It remains for us now to consider the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire, and what these causes may have to teach us concerning the legitimate objectives of organization.

The first point to be observed is that Rome was not destroyed by an alien enemy. In her later history, the period of the great migrations, the entire West-Roman and large parts of the East-Roman worlds were, it is true, overrun by Germanic peoples, whose leaders sometimes resorted to warfare and pillage. Twice the city of Rome was captured and sacked: in the year 410 by Alaric the Goth, and again in 455 by Genseric the Vandal.

As a rule, however, these migrations into the Roman Empire had more the character of peaceful settlements. In some cases Germanic peoples actually came by Roman invitation, to occupy and cultivate depopulated regions. Again, when a graver danger threatened in the Asiatic Huns, these Germanic settlers appear, fighting side by side with the enfeebled Roman legions against the new invaders. Even when the imperial authority had been reduced to a mere fiction it was tolerated by the barbarian element now dominant until the year 476, when the last emperor of Western Rome laid down his scepter.

The causes of Rome's fall were wholly internal. The Germanic settlers did not destroy the Roman Empire; they merely occupied what was already destroyed. When they appeared on the scene Rome was already sick to death from an incurable disease with which the newcomers had nothing to do.

The causes of this disease were moral in their essence. The objectives of Roman government from the first had been economically destructive, and the belated attempts at conservation by some emperors could not avert the final catastrophe. Rome, from first to last, had sowed the wind and she finally reaped the whirlwind. She never produced, she only appropriated; and

she died when there was nothing more to appropriate. No people ever pursued an objective with a more highly organized efficiency or a greater success. They milked their world dry; they accomplished all they set out to do. But it was a false objective that could only end in self-destruction.

ROMAN GENIUS FOR ORDER

This fact does not diminish the importance of what the institutions of Rome may teach us on the constructive side. The genius for order, which characterized the Romans, meant, in the sphere of organization, simply a genius for coordination. The coordinating faculty of the Romans finds its proof in the fact that their organization was adequate for the attainment of their ends. It cannot be denied, however, that from the modern standpoint there are seeming incongruities in Roman organization that appear hard to reconcile with the coordinating faculty they undoubtedly possessed. The best way to clear these difficulties is to consider historically the evolution of Roman organization.

The evolution of the scalar principle in Roman government followed the exact lines that were inevitable in the case of a single city that became mistress of the world. The tendency in such a case would naturally be to attempt the extension of the simple forms that had proved adequate for the government of a city, and only experience could show that this would not work. The sole solution was the lengthening of the scalar chain, and we have witnessed the steps of this process, first in the evolution of the office of provincial proconsul, and finally in the extended chain of delegation created by Diocletian.

One more point remains: what Roman forms of organization may teach us in the sphere of functionalism. Here also we encounter incongruities which might cause the observer to question the Roman genius for order, but the fact remains that out of these institutions they evolved a true order. We must, therefore, accept it and search for the explanation.

The seeming confusion of executive and judicial functions in Roman organization was not in fact a confusion at all. The Romans simply did not segregate these functions in specific individual duties, and the reason may be found in the principle of absolutism, which was common to most ancient governments. A modern, however slight his knowledge of the structure of organization, can understand the difference between the functions of an executive and those of a judge, but it might confuse him to find both functions exercised by the same person. The Romans, on the other hand, looked upon them simply as functions, not as segregated jobs. For this reason the Roman scheme of organization required a greater exactitude in all functional definitions. Because of this clarity, any conflicts of authority, resulting from a mistaken conception of individual rights and duties, must have been rare in Roman organization.

Here we perceive the Roman *genius for order*, which is the necessary condition of true efficiency in all organized relations. However, a genius for order must mean something more than a mere love for order, for order is

2241

something that cannot and does not enforce itself. Order must have its enabling factor, and in the case of the Romans this factor is easily discerned. Roman order rested on the efficiency of Roman *discipline*, and here is the final explanation of their genius in the sphere of organization.

Our conclusion is that the seeming confusion, or rather complexity, in Roman functionalism furnishes the highest proof of the Roman genius for order. Out of this complexity they evolved an orderly government, which imposed order on a disorderly world, and this order was so intrinsic that it could not be greatly disturbed even by the frequent strife for power that defaces Roman history.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Make a list of organizational principles contained in Chapter 1. Include (a) a statement of the principle; (b) the vocabulary associated with each principle; (c) special problems associated with each; and (d) the role of the leader in implementing each principle of organization.

2. Construct a formal organizational pattern for a school system, showing the interrelationships of the various personnel involved. What differences do you note between "line" and "staff" relationships as revealed by this formal organizational pattern? What "informal" relationships are suggested which are not readily apparent from the formal design?

3. Explain the Greek and Roman organizational patterns as outlined in the Mooney excerpt. How did each differ in its relationship to the coordinative, scalar, and functional principles?

4. What advantages and disadvantages might be inherent in the method of problem-solving suggested by the quotations from Herodotus and Sterne?

5. Contrast: effectiveness vs. efficiency; line vs. staff function; *laissez-faire* vs. authoritarian administration; status vs. role; and formal vs. informal organizational structure.

6. Discuss what the illustration of the "whole elephant" means in terms of an overall theory of school administration. Is it possible to develop a comprehensive theory to explain and predict what will happen in each administrative decision?

7. Is school administration a science or an art? Explain.

8. Why was the story from Exodus so unusual in that era? What was the usual organizational plan in the time of Moses?

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CHAPTER 2

This Is School Administration!

IMPORTANCE OF THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Robert E. Wilson

A PROFESSOR of education, noted for his interest in curriculum, was asked why he regularly attended the annual American Association of School Administrators' Convention, not noted for its concern with curriculum. His reply was flattering and challenging to practicing superintendents. "I have become convinced that if there is to be any progress in curriculum improvement, it must come through the superintendents of the nation. I want to get to know them personally. I'm discouraged with working through teachers' committees and college students. The superintendent is in a position to block change or to promote it."

Notwithstanding legal limitations placed upon the powers of the school superintendent, public restrictions that temper his decisions, and boards of education that want to run the show, the superintendent possesses enormous influence. Today most boards won't take action without the recommendation of the superintendent. From a practical operating point of view, therefore, he has authority over:

1. Who may teach.
2. Salaries of those who teach.
3. What is to be taught.
4. How it is to be taught.
5. Equipment and supplies that will be used to implement teaching.
6. Textbooks to be used.
7. What facilities will be built.
8. Where facilities will be located.
9. What school buildings children will attend within the district.
10. Hours and days of attendance.
11. Safety and sanitary conditions for school children.

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12. Regulations governing the conduct of students from the time they leave home in the morning until they return.

Should one reflect seriously upon the significance of each one of these powers, multiply it by the 14,000 superintendents in the land, and consider that the powers extended to 1,000,000 teachers and 35,000,000 young people each year, one can begin to conceive the gigantic strength of this body of men. The importance of proper selection and training of every superintendent becomes obvious.

When one reflects that in 1963 one person in four in this country was of school age, the growing importance of the school superintendent is readily apparent. This age group alone constituted more than 48 million persons! Teachers and other certificated personnel employed exceeded 1,600,000 persons. In 1961-1962, 13,687,547 pupils were transported to school at public expense at a cost of \$540,168,114, exclusive of capital outlay for new buses or other equipment. And the figures rise each year.

WHAT THE SUPERINTENDENT DOES

Although most people would agree upon the importance of the work of the superintendency, many would not be able to state exactly *what* the superintendent does. This state of affairs is caused, not by a lack of understanding of the work of school administrators in general, but rather by the diversity and lack of standardization of the superintendent's tasks. The following excerpt from the same author is illustrative of the diversity which attends the office of the superintendent of schools.

ACTUAL SITUATIONS ENCOUNTERED BY A SUPERINTENDENT DURING A THREE-YEAR PERIOD

Robert E. Wilson

ESTABLISHED new boundary lines for city's elementary school districts. Male teacher found guilty of sodomy with high school boys. White girls of high school age dating Negro boys.

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A local patriotic lodge demanded an investigation of all history books to determine extent of anti-American propaganda.

Jehovah Witness group requested use of school building for worship service.

Vandals caused over \$3,000 damage to a school building.

Teachers' union pressured for an increase of teachers' salary maximum.

Sixty pupils suffered poisoning attributed to food consumed at school cafeteria.

A rival contractor publicly accused the school building contractor of faulty and hazardous workmanship.

Athletic booster club conducted stealthy campaign to have basketball coach dismissed.

Parent threatened suit against teacher who paddled a pupil.

Bottles of liquor found in high school boy's locker.

Board member insisted that the superintendent transfer a principal to another building from the one in which member's daughter was attending classes.

Received anonymous telephone call that bomb was planted in school building.

A PTA demanded that adult patrol guards be placed at street crossing in that district.

Junior high girls en route to school confronted by man guilty of indecent exposure.

A section of ceiling plaster fell, injuring a child.

Three parents protested because their boys were "kicked off" football team for smoking.

Janitor accused of writing indecent notes and leaving them in typewriters for students to find.

Purse containing \$30 stolen from locker.

Junior high girl accused male teacher of molesting her.

Parents demanded that high school sororities be disbanded.

An assistant football coach submitted resignation in mid-season because of argument with head coach.

Local merchant protested to board of education the purchase of typewriters from out-of-town firm.

High school pupil skipped school and was injured in auto accident.

Parents refused on religious grounds to have child vaccinated according to board regulations.

Plumbers went on forty-two-day strike during construction of a building badly needed to relieve an overcrowded condition.

Melting furnace exploded in high school metal shop, hospitalizing a pupil.

A sudden annexation transferred 110 pupils into a school district where the building could not accommodate them.

Fight after football game resulted in jail sentences for three boys and numerous injuries.

Petition received from parents requesting dismissal of a teacher.

Receipt of needed supplies delayed because purchasing agent failed to place order after an argument with a principal who wanted the supplies.

Teacher filed suit against superintendent and board of education for "illegal" dismissal.

Group of students refused to pledge allegiance to flag because of religious convictions.

Jewish patrons protested Christmas observance in schools.

Principal unable to explain \$190 shortage in his school funds.

High school students staged walkout from classes because school was not dismissed following Friday night's defeat of arch rival in football.

Merchants protested the schools' selling of tablets, pencils, and miscellaneous supplies.

Board member died, creating vacancy that had to be filled.

Epidemic of respiratory diseases resulted in 40 per cent absenteeism of pupils and teachers.

School officials responsible for planning and entertaining tri-state professional convention in city.

Citizen accused board members of being involved in illegal sale of equipment to school.

Changed entrance age requirements for admittance to first grade, thereby stirring parental unrest and some bitter objections.

Rowdy and disreputable student parties after Senior prom.

Parents objected to special classes for gifted children.

A sub-contractor filed lien against board of education funds for the general contractor's failure to pay the amount due the sub-contractor.

Teacher accused of advocating trial marriage.

Elementary teachers requested relief from noon duty.

PTA requested permission to sponsor bingo game at benefit party in school.

Board's finance officer innocently made error of \$10,000 in financial report which was released to the public.

Social studies teacher accused of advocating communism.

Board member's daughter fails in college and blames "poor high school preparation."

Teacher wrote letter to editor of local paper criticizing a board's decision.

Ministerial association objected to the number of school activities that kept children out of church youth functions.

Tornado reported heading toward city during school hours.

Salesman discovered calling teacher out of classes for his "pitch" contrary to board regulations.

Shipment of floor wax found to be defective, resulting in damage to gym floors.

Neighborhood gang feuds erupted in school.

Dentists requested that children be dismissed during school hours for dental appointments.

During the three-year period the superintendent received 87 calls complaining about children crushing shrubs, lawns, and fences; 143 requests for students to participate in contests; and had reports of 340 windows broken in school buildings.

A DAY ON THE JOB . . . AND HOWE!

Harold Howe, II

HOW DOES a superintendent in a "high visibility," "cutting-edge" district, spend his time? To find out, *School Management* asked a prominent member of the profession to prepare, for publication, a personal record of a typical day on the job.

The time: November, 1961.

The place: Scarsdale, N.Y.

The superintendent: Harold Howe, II.

8:15 My school day begins. Signing forms, routing second-class mail to staff members, sorting out the stuff on my desk into (1) What has to be done today, (2) What can wait.

8:40 Consult with director of plant on Civil Defense problems. What do we say or not say about shelters at this point.

Interrupted by three calls:

1. Chairman of board of education calls to discuss a special board meeting tonight.

2. Program chairman of Wellesley College Club of Westchester County wants me to address that group.

3. A neighboring superintendent wants help in arranging a program for a meeting of local superintendents.

9:10 Unscheduled appointment with business manager re: salaries for civil service employees.

Interrupted by two calls:

1. Elementary principal calling on a personnel problem.

2. PTA Council chairman wants to talk about agenda for next Council meeting.

9:30 Meeting with director of curriculum re: extension of foreign language program to lower grade level and, particularly, on additional staff and language laboratory equipment involved.

Interrupted by two calls:

1. Personnel manager of large sugar company in Dominican Republic calls from New York to discuss starting a teacher exchange

program between our teachers and those in a school he runs for employees.

2. Irate property owner adjacent to our junior high school calls to say we have planted trees on his land.

10:00 Appointment with out-of-town candidate for an administrative position in our schools. Sent him to visit in schools. He'll be back at 3:30. (No phone calls accepted here.)

10:30 Appointment with public relations man interested in having his client (entertainment personality) initiate our new closed circuit TV system in the high school. Attempted a polite "no."

Interrupted by four calls:

1. Press wants clarification on two matters.

2. Citizens group studying schools wants three evening meetings with superintendent and/or staff.

3. Professor of education at university on West Coast wants me to take part in conference there next July.

4. Editor of our monthly publication to all citizens of the community wants to clear a policy question for next month's issue.

11:00 Secretary leaves mail and asks if I will see a salesman who says he is "a friend of mine." Spend five minutes with him talking about "old times."

11:05 Initiate some phone calls.

1. To high school principal re: public relations problems connected with addition to the high school.

2. To board of education attorney to get legal opinion on a tenure problem and possible lawsuit related to a civil service staff member.

11:15 Meeting with administrative assistant, business manager, and personal secretary to arrange board of education agenda for next public meeting. While discussing the agenda we got into the matter of possible changes in the teachers' salary schedule during the next budget year and the process by which we would bring recommendations on this to the board.

12:15 Late to lunch (sandwich in one of the elementary schools) with four elementary school teachers who will appear with me tomorrow in a panel discussion before a group of 25 visiting Vassar College students in training for teaching.

1:00 On my way back from lunch stopped at junior high school to examine areas where we might install a language lab.

1:30 Regular bi-weekly meeting with administrative council (all principals and central office administrators of school system). Some topics on agenda:

1. How shall we handle the N.Y. State Education Department census of Negro, Puerto Rican, and other non-white children.

2. What plans need to be made because of the rapid changes in mathematics curriculum in lower grades in our schools, changes which will have an impact on both teachers and curriculum in the upper grades? Must we finance some retraining of staff?

3. Deadlines on next year's budget requests from principals.

4. Can we improve our procedures for evaluation of staff members in a way to make these procedures more helpful to teachers?

3:30 Candidate for administrative position returns and we discuss his reaction to our schools.

4:15 Discussion with administrative assistant for personnel re: this candidate. We agree on his strengths but agree to look further. Secretaries depart at 4:30, leaving letters to be signed, afternoon mail to look at, and six calls to make.

4:45 I farm out all but two phone calls to others and then:

1. Talk at length on the phone re: problems of a private educational institution of which I am a trustee.

2. Agree to meet with representatives of the Junior League who want to present drama program in the elementary schools.

5:15 Talk with administrative assistant re: progress of school census and enrollment projections.

5:30 Answer most pressing letters, leaving others for tomorrow or for regular weekends cleanup of correspondence on dictating machine at home.

6:00 Going home.

6:10 Supper: read *New York Times*; help ninth-grade daughter with same "time, rate and distance" problems I had in ninth grade 30 years ago. (Makes one worry about progress in education.) Receive two phone calls on school business while at home.

7:45 Leave to prepare for 8:15 special board meeting.

8:15 Special meeting of board of education to discuss curriculum problems in the schools. This meeting was requested by the board because regular meetings became cluttered with business, financial and building problems. I made a half-hour presentation.

11:30 Home, to bed.

Although diversity of tasks is characteristic of the job of the school superintendent, some tasks are more standardized than others. One of

these is providing for the discipline and control of pupils. The following selection typifies the complexity of this task when the pupil in question is the son of a prominent board member.

THE SON OF A MEMBER OF THE SCHOOL BOARD

Terrel Howard Bell

ONE MORNING, after the third week of school had passed the mark that the teachers called "hump day," or Wednesday, a very small boy came to school. He registered in the office as a member of the Junior class. He was Melvin Burke's boy, George. Robert felt that Melvin Burke was likely to be his most staunch supporter on the board of education, and he wanted to make matters as pleasant as possible for his son to make up the two and one-half weeks of school that he had missed. He helped young George Burke to register, and told him about his classes and the teachers he would have.

He heard the Burke boy talking to a group of freshmen and sophomores later that morning as he walked down the hall.

"He don't look so damn tough to me!" Robert heard George Burke say to the group standing around.

"Well, you had just better watch your step," one of the boys replied.

"I'll jest test him out at home room this morning. My old man's on the school board, and I'll see how much crap he'll take offa me to keep in good with the old man," George concluded.

Robert did not pay much attention to this conversation, and attributed it to adolescent desire for attention and admiration. When he arrived at home room later on that morning, he found that the Burke boy really did intend to see how far he could go.

As the Burke boy entered the room, he threw his chemistry book across three aisles to a desk. The book slammed to the floor and made a loud sound that interrupted the study of the other students in the room. Nancy Norby, Kathy Gunther and Rebecca Andrews were sitting toward the rear of the classroom drilling for a quiz in chemistry. Thomas Webster and Joe Johnson were sitting together at the desk just in front of the one where George Burke had thrown his book.

"Why don't you act your age, Burke," Joe said chidingly.

"Aw, shut up—I'll do as I damn please!" George retorted.

The students looked up expectantly at Robert, who was sitting at the

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teacher's desk in the front of the room. Robert kept his head down at his roll book and let the incident pass.

"He's been downtown drinkin' beer all morning," Robert heard Thomas Webster whisper to Joe. "I guess he think's he's tough because they'll let him have beer since the town-board election was won by the anti-Mormons."

The bell rang, and the students sat in their desks quietly and prepared for the regular home-room procedure. Robert began to call the roll, but was interrupted by George Burke's whistling. Robert stopped and looked down the aisle directly at George.

"Would you mind being quiet while I call the roll, George?" he said evenly.

"Oh, I might if I feel like it."

Some of the girls snickered, and George sat up in his seat and grinned impudently. Robert got up from his desk and walked slowly and deliberately down the aisle toward George. As he neared the boy's desk, George stood up and looked defiantly at Robert with a sneer on his face. Robert stopped at his desk. There was a dead silence in the room.

Robert placed his hand under the boy's chin and looked him squarely in the eyes, as he said: "George, we want you to feel welcome here in this high school. Don't get the idea for one minute that you are a special person who doesn't have to comply with all the rules. You will be just like the rest of the students here, and you will be expected to do the same things that they are expected to do."

George suddenly struck out with one of his fists and struck Robert in the midriff. The blow came unexpectedly and temporarily took the wind out of his lungs. Robert grabbed the boy by the hair and jerked him out into the aisle. He slapped his ears soundly, twisted him around and quickly slapped a hammer lock on his right arm. He propelled him up the aisle and hurtled him out the door. Robert then instructed the boy to go to the office and wait for a conference after home room was over.

After the home-room period was completed, Robert found that the Burke boy had left school. He had an impulse to call his home, but decided to let the boy's parents take the initiative, in view of the fact that Melvin Burke was on the board. He didn't want it to appear that he was concerned about the matter because of George's parents.

That night after school, Robert met Melvin Burke in the Lapidary Merc. He spoke to Mr. Burke as usual. He was greeted with a sullen stare as Mr. Burke walked past him and out the door.

The following day, George appeared at school, reported to home room and conducted himself in a much better fashion than he had done on the previous day.

Joe Johnson's father, Heber W. Johnson, farmed down in the extreme end of the Shirttail country. His ranch was the last one on the south side of the Silver Falls school-district line. Melvin Burke, Sam Norby, Rolfe Widmark and Reuben Burke (an uncle of Melvin's) lived in the Shirttail area and were neighbors to the Johnsons. Their children rode on the same school bus to-

gether, and it appeared that Joe Johnson was the pride and joy, not only of the Johnson family, but of all the residents of the Shirttail area.

Robert learned that Joe did much to combat erroneous information that George Burke had passed out to residents of Shirttail regarding the time when George was unceremoniously ejected from the Junior class home room. Joe made a special effort to explain just what happened. Robert was glad of this loyalty from Joe, and he felt that Joe's explanation was much better than any attempt on his part to try to correct the story that George Burke was telling.

This incident with the young Burke boy gave Robert another lesson about the extremely precarious position occupied by a school administrator. He had a choice between doing what was best for the entire school's general discipline and morale, or doing what would be best for his personal position and popularity with an influential member of his school board. The same choice had had to be made regarding the janitorial situation when he was forced to oppose Roy Walton and James Bailey in replacing Jake Steele. These two incidents had cost him personal standing with three of the six board members. Even his own personal expenditure of funds for an electric water heater had had something to do with his relations with the school superintendent if he had purchased his heater from the Lapidary Merc instead of the Hall Hardware Company. In each of these three incidents, Robert felt that his decisions were the only proper ones to make.

It was easy for the natural instinct of self-preservation to influence such decisions. His personal position and job security would be substantially more enhanced at the present time if he had sacrificed his principles and considered each incident from the standpoint of his own perpetuation in his present position. He was young now, but what of the later years when his removal from an administrative position would result in his having to start over again in the teaching profession, and his advanced years would be held against him? It appeared, at least from the cynical viewpoint, that the time when a superintendent outlived his usefulness to the true cause and principles of education was when he became sufficiently interested in job security to be unwilling to commit professional suicide. The results of years of personal achievement and advancement could easily be wiped out in school administration by one action, such as the disciplining of young George Burke. The school administrator's position was placed at the mercy of six men. The good will, confidence and personal friendship of these men were essential to professional security.

There were requirements for an administrator's certificate to practice the profession of public school administration in the communities of the state. In three short years, these requirements would include specific college courses on the subject and a Master's degree. There was even some talk of increasing the requirements to the extent that a Doctor's degree in education would be essential to hold a certificate in administration. These were sound specifications, Robert realized, because the tremendous responsibilities required a

great deal of training as well as experience. Robert wondered, however, if these requirements were in any way commensurate with the annual salary he was receiving. He asked himself if the requirements measured above the disadvantage of tremendous pressures and constant insecurity of position. The threat of such things as the George Burke incident could occur any school day of the year.

His teachers expected him to back them up. Not only in his own classes, but in every classroom situation in the building, there was a potential George Burke incident, or one even more serious, that could creep into the total picture of his professional standing. The school, his administration and his own professional decisions were judged and discussed at the breakfast table of hundreds of homes each morning. He was required to get good educational performance from his teachers. He was duty bound, in return for this performance, to stand behind any teacher compelled to act in a case similar to the George Burke situation. These incidents were witnessed by numerous pairs of eyes. The owners of these eyes reported, innocently or maliciously, the results of each day of school to the families of the district at the breakfast table each morning.

From this information, accurate or inaccurate, the mothers reported the same incidents to the members of the Relief Society or the Ladies' Aid Group. The fathers reported to the poolhall gang downtown or to the members of the church's Elders' Quorum. The school's efficiency and inefficiency, the entire educational system's competence or incompetence, was judged daily from a great mass of information, accurate and grossly inaccurate.

Even in a small school district like the one at Lapidary, Robert could see his position depended upon the near impossibility of keeping 180 students, eight teachers, a janitor, two school bus drivers, two hot-lunch cooks, the Parents and Teachers Association, the six members of the Board of Education, the Elders' Quorum, the Ladies Aid, the Relief Society and the poolhall gangs downtown pleased and happy with the way the school was being managed. In addition to this, he was responsible for maintaining certain specific standards, as required by state and county authorities. Without these standards, he knew, his school would not be rated highly, and the parents as well as the state officials would, in the end, be dissatisfied. If these standards were met, he must spend great sums of money in the near future to create an adequate school plant. This would come in direct conflict with the philosophy of the school board, and would meet a storm of criticism from parents and other taxpayers.

Thus it was, in the light of all these circumstances, that Robert examined his position as a school administrator. He wondered what the odds-makers, the professional bookies at the race tracks and big-time athletic contests, would give him on the possibilities of completing even one successful year. If this were his lot in such an exceptionally small school district, what of the administrative problems of much larger districts? Robert decided that, perhaps, he had already reached his level in school administration. He had his hands full in the present position. He marveled at the performance of the

district superintendents in the larger cities. He resolved to study them more closely the next time he went to a convention. They must be, he thought, supermen schooled in the arts of diplomacy, politics, financial wizardry and general efficiency engineering to cope with the multifarious problems that inevitably came with their professional responsibilities. If a man stayed in one administrative post for very many years, he must be tremendously efficient and capable, or else resort to the practice of job self-perpetuation at the expense of any creditable educational performance in his district.

The lack of standardization in school administration can be traced in part to the difference in size among the 28,000 school districts in this country. One of the most difficult and, withal, challenging jobs in educational administration is that of the superintendent of the nation's largest school district, the city of New York. On November 15, 1963 *Time* Magazine ran the following cover story, which illustrates the problems which beset the chief school administrator in a district with more than one million children.

CIVILIZING THE BLACKBOARD JUNGLE

HE SKYLARKS down the scruffy street, the colored slum kid in the North-Hern city, headed for the public school. He wears a white shirt with a bow tie, and a good warm windbreaker. His smile is toothy, his epithets vile. He is eight, and can't read much. His teacher, a man with a heart of case-hardened gold, sometimes thinks of him as a "little bastard," but the boy has good intelligence and intentions. Such, in many variations, is the "disadvantaged" child, and he and his like now comprise one-third of all pupils in the nation's 14 largest cities.

They are the rural dispossessed—Southern Negroes, Appalachian whites, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans—who fill the urban void left by middle-class migration to the suburbs. They share the American dream of salvation by education and go to the public school that everyone says will save them. Why is it that just the opposite happens so often in city schools across the country?

DIFFERENT IMMIGRANT The focal point of this question is New York City, where the nation's biggest school system has just acquired a highly skilled school superintendent who may have some of the answers. At 44, Calvin Edward Gross is a man with more than a million children, almost half

SOURCE: From *Time*, November 15, 1963. Courtesy *Time* The Weekly Newsmagazine, Copyright Time Inc., 1963. Reprinted by permission.

of them Negro or Puerto Rican. Seven months in office, he feels ready to cope with the hardest school job in the country. "We are now enjoying the best fall beginning we've had for a long time," Gross peppily wrote his teachers not long ago. "Let's take it from here."

How far anyone can take New York City depends on reconciling the disparity between the nature of the children and the nature of the school system. New York City has long specialized in educating immigrants, but these children—being Americans to begin with—are different. They are shorn of the drive that spurred their predecessors, weirdly cut off from the middle-class culture that teachers abide by.

"I don't want to grow up to be any dumb guy," said one Manhattan slum kid recently. Such children know adults who cannot even read the want ads, and sense the despair of unskilled teen-agers loitering on streets where drink, dope or death is the only exit. Yet as other Americans reach new heights of affluence and aspiration, slum kids are made to feel all the more worthless by their poverty and the color of their skin. Often, dinner is a hamburger served in a paper bag; books are nonexistent; home is a rooming house so transient that in a recent year 50% of all Manhattan pupils switched schools, making a mockery of sustained education.

"TRY THE POST OFFICE" IQ tests use middle-class references that the slum child does not understand: his low score then plunks him into the slow group. He is repelled from reading by fatuous primers about "nice" children who seem laughable even in the suburbs, let alone in Harlem. Harried principals stand ready to expel him; guidance counselors are reluctant to encourage him too much. "Be realistic," they say. "Do what you can do. Try the post office."

"The battle for better education will be won or lost in the big cities," says Calvin Gross. It is the big cities that school most of the people: the U.S. is now 70% urban. There is no intrinsic reason why urban schools cannot join or lead the academic reform going on in suburbia. The secret, Gross believes, is to humanize and decentralize city school administration—freeing teachers to reach individual children.

The measure of this job in New York City is the number of individual children: 1,047,800. They outnumber soldiers in the U.S. Army. To meet all his 42,000 teachers in one group, Superintendent Gross would need two Madison Square Gardens. If he tried to visit one classroom a day throughout the school year, he would not finish until the year 2184. Just to visit all of his 841 schools at the rate of one a day would take more than four school years. Gross frets: "The basic thing I've got to lick here is communication."

New York still has pockets of unmatched excellence. Talented youngsters, including 7,000 with IQs above 150, can study anything from college math through Chinese or Russian to conservatory-level art and music. Bronx Science, one of four academic high schools with stringent entrance exams, is a famed gateway to M.I.T. and Harvard. Performing Arts supplies Broadway, television and the ballet with recruits. New York City public schools, with 2% of all U.S. schoolchildren, have for 20 years averaged a remarkable

20% of all Westinghouse Science Talent Search winners. Of the 21,000 U.S. students taking Advanced Placement exams for college credit last year, almost 3,000 were New York City youngsters.

An able New York child rides an escalator to top colleges. In the fourth to sixth grade, he joins an I.G.C. (Intellectually Gifted Children) class that gets extra money and attention. Junior high puts him in an S.P. (Special Progress) class that skips a year or gets "enriched" work; he goes on to a specialized high school or Advanced Placement classes in a regular school. All the while, he sharpens his brains competing with some of the most aggressively bright kids in the country.

TO GET A BRONX ACCENT? When a California woman moved to Manhattan two years ago, she plunked her two daughters in private school at \$1,000 per pretty head. This fall, divorced and shy of cash, she nervously switched the girls to what is supposed to be a "blackboard jungle" junior high school on the upper West Side. Both girls are thriving in S.P. classes, and the one with a talent for art has never had better teaching. "Private schools are living on their waiting lists," says their mother. Calvin Gross, who has two children in Riverdale's P.S. 81, promises to "give private schools a little competition in this town. They've had their way too long."

But casting a child adrift in New York's schools, perhaps to find excellence and perhaps only to acquire a Bronx accent, is not to the taste of most white parents affluent enough to afford any alternative. New York is losing four students to the suburbs for every one it gets back. The city's total public school enrollment is up 20,000 this year. But nonpublic enrollment is rising faster; 25,000 youngsters are in private schools and 400,000 in parochial (chiefly Roman Catholic) schools. Negroes and Puerto Ricans last year comprised 40.5% of the city's total enrollment and 76.5% of all elementary pupils in Manhattan.

In a variety of pioneering ways, New York has tried to fight its problems. George Washington High School's three-year Demonstration Guidance Project freed teachers for intense work with slum kids, and turned many of the pupils into honors graduates and earnest collegians. The famed Higher Horizons program, a strong dose of culture and counseling, offers a measure of hope and confidence to 65,000 children in 76 schools. The city has poured extra cash and supplies into 274 schools that have a concentration of problems. It has brought in hundreds of bilingual Puerto Rican teachers to ease Puerto Rican kids into New York life. And it has established 28 "600" schools that drain the worst delinquents away from the rest of the system while trying to handle them toughly but constructively.

All of this is far from enough. One out of three New York pupils is, as the latest educanto puts it, "culturally different"—a stranger to middle-class values. One out of three junior high students is at least two years retarded in reading—constituting the city's No. 1 academic deficiency. All too often those same youngsters are shunted into outmoded vocational schools or diluted "general" academic courses that lead nowhere. Roughly half of all New York high school students drop out before graduation.

DUMBER & DUMBER In short, the schools are still failing those who need them most. School officials blame "cultural deprivation," the slum kid's lack of drive and books at home. As he falls behind in reading, he gets "dumber and dumber" in school. At Manhattan's High School of Commerce, for example, only one-fifth of this fall's entering tenth-graders read at ninth-grade level or above. "We do our best for our students," says Principal Murray Cohn, "but they just can't keep up."

Negroes react to this sort of charge the way all parents do when their kids are criticized. In central Harlem, where some children are a year behind in third grade and most are three years behind in eighth grade, civil rights say that "the schools are manufacturing retarded kids" and blame white teachers who give up too easily (only 8.3% of all New York teachers are Negro). In the typical view of the Rev. Milton Galamison, the problem is "low expectancy on the part of middle-class teachers whose concept of a human being is not met by these children."

Militant, organized Negroes argue that the only solution is to import white students to Negro schools on the bitter theory that this will guarantee adequate teaching. Superintendent Gross has ruled that out. He backs every integration step "short of the compulsory interchange of Negro and white students between distant communities." Gross relies heavily on upgrading mostly Negro schools, but to mitigate the hurts of *de facto* segregation he intends to amplify the city's "open enrollment" plan by permitting children of all races "free choice" to enter under-used schools throughout the city.

OVERBURDEN Getting money is a big problem, but not the biggest, for Gross. The city's board of education has no taxing power—probably an advantage, since it would otherwise have to persuade a presumably reluctant electorate to vote for higher taxes and bond issues. This means that the board must appeal for cash to the city's Democratic administration, which in turn depends on the state's Republican legislature for about one-third of its school funds, but New York does manage to scrape up more per pupil (an average of \$625 last year) than any other major city.

Yet, by one estimate, it should be spending at least one-third more to restore the schools' position of 20 years ago. The key barrier is "municipal overburden"—the expense of such extra city services as subsidized subways. Only 21% of the city budget goes to education, compared with as much as 70% in small communities.

RUSH-HOURLY EDUCATION New building is years behind—the city needs at least 20 new high schools. The 57 academic high schools it has now are so loaded that last year Brooklyn's Erasmus Hall High had 6,886 students, or 2,000 more than capacity. George Washington High has five overlapping daily sessions; students waiting for empty classrooms jam the auditorium like commuters in Grand Central. Last year 57,459 New York children got less than a full day's schooling, in effect cutting their school year by as much as two months.

Such obstacles, in part, led 1,018 teachers last year to give up

New York's classroom battle—many quitting for the suburbs. Those who remain are willing but not always able. The greenest college graduate can get a substitute teaching job; a third of all New York teachers are substitutes, too many of them thrown into the difficult schools that veterans are allowed to avoid. Yet to get a regular teaching license in New York City requires not only a state certificate but also a special city exam given by the powerful board of examiners, a fusty fief run by nine old-minded men. "An Einstein who was also a Professor of Educational Methods at Harvard University could not get a regular position as a teacher of science in New York City without taking the examination," wrote Cleveland's former School Superintendent Mark Schinnerer in a 1961 appraisal of New York's schools.

BANISHED BOARD The manufacturer of red tape in New York is "Livingston Street," or board of education headquarters in Brooklyn. Prolific with ideas for curriculum reform, it seems incapable of getting them into the schools. Years of big talk and tiny testing go into "pilot" studies and "demonstration" projects as generations of children pass by. For example, HQ has spent 17 years "developing" a new elementary math curriculum that is still not finished.

As petty as it is provincial, Livingston Street has long required teachers to punch time clocks, toil at trivial paper work and use rigid lesson plans that often ignore student needs. Many vital problems never reach HQ. To rouse the place on the telephone can take 40 rings. A commercial high school wired for DC gets new electric typewriters wired for AC. Just to get one home economics room equipped at George Washington High School took Principal Henry Hillson nine years. The rapid rise of the city's teachers' union is due almost entirely to the frustration they experience trying to squawk into Livingston Street's tin ear.

The court of last resort—when things get bad enough—is the New York State board of regents, who enforce the state's three dense tomes of education law. In 1961, Livingston Street got all three volumes thrown at it. Aghast at school construction scandals, the state ousted the entire New York City board of education. Out went Superintendent John J. Theobald, under fire for using a vocational school to build him a pleasure boat in someone else's name. In came a new, lively, politically sanitized board charged with invigorating the schools, dealing increasingly with the militant teachers' union and finding the best superintendent in the U.S.

\$\$\$ FOR A'S After four months of scouring 56 major cities, the searchers, led by Dean Francis Keppel of Harvard's Graduate School of Education (now U.S. Commissioner of Education), solidly recommended Calvin Gross of Pittsburgh.

Gross was something unheard of at Livingston Street: a superintendent from outside the city. But he did have a New York tie. His father Harry, the son of an immigrant Jewish tailor, was born in Queens, went through New York public schools and graduated from C.C.N.Y. With his wife, whose maiden name was Calvin, Father Gross migrated to Los Angeles in 1916

in a Model T Ford. A math teacher and engineer, he soon became the nonsense principal of San Fernando High School.

Son Calvin learned early that learning pays—at least sometimes. At the age of four, his father promised him a dime “if you can tell me what three fours are.” “Twelve,” piped the boy. Surprised, his father asked how he knew and was told: “Well, two threes are six, so four threes must be twelve.” Harry promised his son a dollar for each A on his report card, but chickened out when his son got more A’s than a barrel of aardvarks.

Skipping three grades, Cal Gross at ten became one of his father’s junior high students and manfully suffered the gibes of being “Old Man Gross’s son.” Skinny and underage, he survived by earning respect as one of the school’s least likely football lettermen.

KEEP THIS MAN With a quick mind of the math-and-music kind, Gross won honors in math at U.C.L.A. ('40) and picked up a Phi Beta Kappa key. R.O.T.C. led him to a lieutenancy in the Army, and as part of a wartime antiaircraft unit he followed the sweep from Normandy to Germany. He went home to meet a girl who had written to him in the Army as a fellow member of the city’s high school honor society. She was bright, modest Bernice Hayman, daughter of a Los Angeles fire captain, and Gross promptly married her. Gross had attended Presbyterian Sunday school as a kid; he and Bernice worked in the Baptist church; now both are Unitarians.

While earning his master’s degree at U.S.C., Gross became a math-science teacher in Los Angeles, went on to become chairman of the math department at Jefferson High School, a job held by his father 22 years before. Jefferson students were by then nearly all Negroes; the job gave Gross a closeup experience with the climate of a *de facto* segregated school. Gross’s personnel record at the L.A. board of education glows with such encomiums as “Outstanding” and “Don’t let this man go.” But he went, in 1950, to take a one-year fellowship at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, under Dean Keppel.

In 1951 Gross slid into his first superintendency in Weston, a Boston suburb with one-thousandth as many students as he now has. His main dress rehearsal for New York came a few years later in Pittsburgh. That system is far smaller (114 schools, 77,500 students), but it had plenty of big-city problems when Gross took over. Aggressively recruiting in 18 states, Gross raised salaries 25% for beginners, offered a 10% merit bonus for master teachers. He brought in Andover’s Dean Alan R. Blackmer to start a full menu of courses for gifted students, hired “lay reader” housewives to grade English compositions. Experiment-minded foundations gave Gross \$1,500,000, and as one result Pittsburgh has the nation’s biggest team-teaching effort—teams of subject-specialists teaching 8,500 pupils in mainly Negro neighborhoods.

LOCKED DOORS Gross is “a three-R man,” and he interprets the goal of the R’s as high intellectual attainment. He abhors “extraneous subjects,” labels driver education “a good example of a certified, gold-plated frill,” re-

fuses to let schools "hang out shingles as baby sitters." Scornful of common-denominator teaching, he aims to concentrate on "children who are either very bright or fairly dull, or who seem dull because their intellectual potential is masked by the ravages of slum life."

For exceptionally bright pupils, he proposes two years of college work in high school—thus spurring lesser students to greater effort. For the dull, Gross has an equally sweeping prescription: absolute insistence on mastery of reading before a child is allowed to go on. When a child slips in reading, says Gross, "put him in a class that's half as big and double the time he spends on reading. If he continues to slip, cut the class size and increase the time once again, because he has to learn to read! If he can't read well, he'll find locked doors for the rest of his life."

To carry out his basic strategy, New York's new superintendent aims to use all the new tools of suburbia's academic reform. He welcomes the school curriculum ideas now coming out of universities. To free the bright and the dull from lock-step schooling, he wants all the new liberating procedures—non-graded classes, programmed learning, team teaching, flexible walls for flexible grouping. But no one man can decree this next Monday in New York's monolithic system, nor does Gross intend to. He has other methods.

One of his principles is that the top boss of a vast organization, be it New York schools, G.M. or the U.S. Army, can deal effectively with only about five subexecutives. Another is that dictatorship by the boss is ineffectual; shrilling orders only freezes minds and breeds bureaucracy. Instead, a leader should spur incentive and competition among hundreds of groups and individuals.

SMALL-TOWN SPIRIT Ideally, perhaps, Livingston Street should be all but abolished, its garrison troops sent off to the trenches. That day is far distant. But going for Gross meanwhile is a happy heritage of the 1961 school scandal.

To put the people closer to the schools, the new board of education revived the spirit of decentralization. It appointed 25 local school boards to work with the city's 25 field superintendents, and they have generally proved to be composed of citizens avid to upgrade local schools. These boards are being consulted on such vital matters as building and integration, and Gross sees a chance to produce "something that makes sense—a small-town atmosphere that is totally unknown in big-city school systems."

Almost certainly the local boards will play a role in one of Gross's pet plans. Using foundation "start-up money," he hopes to flood a few districts (notably in slum areas) with all the new academic reforms, thus attracting more money and setting new standards for all districts to match. This is an end run around Livingston Street's all-or-nothing inertia. "System-wide reform brings in too much brass," says Gross. "It kills the teachers' spirit. We ought to let a few areas get out ahead, and then ask if the rest of the folks can catch up. What we need is real community participation and intramural competition."

I-CAN-DO-IT Everything Gross plans is aimed at giving teachers real freedom to use their abilities, "to try out a new idea, to make an original plan, to deviate for the sake of an individual pupil from a citywide norm or a prescribed routine. I want to see the shots being called as far down the line as possible." Nothing appalls Gross more than the bureaucratic arrogance that feeds what he calls the system's "I-can't-do-it-neurosis." He abhors time clocks and lesson plans as "abominations" and says that "no one should have to stand around waiting for a civil answer—or be forced to shout to get one."

It is too early to measure Gross's success, but he has certainly set a new tone in New York City. He started off facing a double crisis that threatened to collapse the school system on opening day in September: civil righters were set to boycott schools in protest against *de facto* segregation, and the militant teachers' union was hellbent for a massive strike. Won over by Gross's tough-minded sincerity, Negroes put off their boycott; softened by his ability to compromise, the teachers accepted a facesaving settlement.

Better yet, the union settlement produced something unheard of—what Gross is pleased to call "a sort of alliance between teachers and administrators." For the first time in its hoary history, the board of examiners has consented to hold exams outside the city; in the drive for more Negro teachers, it is setting up shop this month in Washington, D.C. Beginning teachers with a master's degree will get \$6,425 a year—the nation's top lure for career teachers.

For the first time in 50 years, half of the city's first-graders are getting a full school day; elementary schools are team-teaching 7,500 pupils; 10,000 slow readers are launched on programmed-learning books. Starting next month, reading will be tackled at after-school study centers, and a new "sequential" system is aimed at forcing pupils to master specific reading steps before drifting upward. Gross has submitted a record one-year building budget of \$223.8 million that calls for 37 new schools by 1965. And by 1970, he hopes to overhaul the entire school plant to the tune of \$1.17 billion.

UNBURIED BODIES Even the scandals have taken a different tone—now they crop up because Gross & Co. are deliberately unburying the bodies. To the shock of shoddy contractors, the city's able new school building boss, Eugene E. Hult, recently ordered a half-built \$2,500,000 Queens school to be partly dismantled because of weak concrete. Hult also publicized the quaint fact that school custodians, who get lump-sum maintenance funds and are allowed to pocket unspent money, have been getting rich in the process. Bushwick High's D. Paul Bishop reportedly got \$53,000 last year, topping Gross's salary by \$13,000 and the mayor's by \$3,000. The word is that the next overspending to be exposed is on chartered school buses. "I'm delighted," says Gross. "The system is beginning to use initiative and muscle."

It is indeed, which supports a surging hope among New York's parents that "maybe this Dr. Gross really can save the schools." Gross himself says: "I can't claim I've done a damn thing, really, but I see the potential for getting a lot done. This town is full of great teachers who deserve recognition. It

could have a really efficient and powerful school system. What I want is to get things to a point where a parent can't take his child out blithly. I want him to have to think mighty hard about what his child is missing."

THE IMPROVEMENT OF INSTRUCTION

A major responsibility of the school administrator is the improvement of instruction. This duty transcends all other tasks of administration; every other activity is subordinate to it. When the superintendent makes a speech before the local service club, he is in effect helping to improve instructional opportunities for boys and girls in the public school classroom. The same can be said for his work with the board of education, his interpretation of the aims and objectives of public education in the community, and all other "administrative" tasks. These tasks are actually "supervisory" tasks, inasmuch as they tend to improve instruction indirectly. The activities which improve instruction directly are called *supervision*, and are generally delegated to other staff personnel because the superintendent normally has little time for visiting classrooms, holding in-service meetings for teachers, and doing other chores associated with curricular and instructional improvement.

The following excerpt interprets the role of the superintendent in improving instruction. The authors depict him in a leadership and inspirational role, encouraging others to study, experiment, and write, to do research, and to read the results of research. Although he is directly responsible for the quality of instruction, he must depend upon his supervisory staff to implement the practices thought to be the best for the improvement of educational opportunities for children enrolled in the public schools.

INSTRUCTION—THE REASON FOR BEING

Finis Engleman, Shirley Cooper, and William Ellena

FOLLOWING World War I, American educators heard the cries of many who sensed a new world and wanted education to come to the rescue. These voices could be heard to say, "Broaden the curriculum to meet the needs of the new enrollments." "There must be more vocational education."

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"Citizenship training is needed." "Beware of the academic courses that frustrate the nonacademic pupil." "Extracurricular activities are needed." "Get the IQ, test and test." "Change organization to include 'homogeneous grouping, the Batavia plan, the Oswego plan, the Dalton plan, the Winnetka plan, the Project Method, the Platoon School, the 6-3-3.'"

Following World War II, again the cries of the American people reverberated through the land. Again, insecurity and a kaleidoscopically changing world centered attention on education as either a villain or savior. Again, but louder and more widespread, the voices were heard crying, "Get back to the fundamentals," "Give the tough subjects to all." "Math, science, and modern language are the first priority." "Adopt tough standards." "Flunk them out." "Group the academically talented." "Set up tracks." "Adopt merit salary schedules." "Reconstruct teacher education." "Change to team teaching, the master teacher with aids, educational TV, teaching machines, flexible size classes."

These are the voices, and there are many others; these represent the forces that affect instruction and the school program. These and many others are the voices that the good superintendent hears and evaluates. In fact, this broad and wide enthusiasm—whether it be critical or complimentary, whether it be fraught with wisdom or plainly nonsense, whether it be reactionary or progressive, whether it be backed by logic and evidence or abundantly ignorant—should encourage, not discourage, the devoted administrator. These signs of interest can and must be capitalized upon. Because of them, if the superintendent and his associates have competence and statesmanship, a better program will emerge. Some of the voices may sound a retreat toward archaic method and content and may temporarily gain their point. But the profession, led by the superintendent, must be able to hear the voices that foresee and foretell the educational realities of the future. If they listen to the voices of a free society hurrying to its destiny; if they listen to the voices of those who see a new and better world; if they hear those who urge that the cultural heritage be not neglected, they will build a curriculum of content and method that will possess the qualities of excellence, comprehensiveness, and diversity necessary for our times.

In the midst of this welter of forces and voices, the good superintendent is at his best. If he has been broadly educated, and if he has kept abreast of the social, economic, philosophical, scientific, and cultural revolution, all this contrast of ideas and opinion is grist for his mill. He knows that public education is the one most valuable institution for giving man the diverse range of competence necessary to cope with himself, his world, and outer space. He knows that education must run a little faster than the racing world. He knows that if it grows obsolete, if it reaches only the few rather than the many, he and his associates may well be branded as inept or cowardly.

Although the superintendent may have many competent associates, in curriculum and method, he must be the superintendent of education as well as the superintendent of schools. Indeed, it is the good superintendent who studies assiduously the cultural heritage, the values of America, the social,

economic, scientific, and political revolution and their implications for education. Also, he must know more than the public and most of the teaching profession about the broad reaches of the school program, its purposes, its strengths, and its weaknesses.

Since education is the sole purpose of the school, the superintendent's first leadership role is to give guidance and inspiration to the whole instructional staff. He encourages individuals to study, experiment, and write, to do research, and to read the results of research. He plans and advises with people in workshops, seminars, study groups, and conferences devoted to improving teaching and learning. He expresses confidence, he insists on an atmosphere of freedom, he helps to release creativity wherever it appears. Above all, he studies with his associates, and he learns from them and from many others in the fields outside teaching. Such serious, devoted, and humble activities on the part of the superintendent do most to bring satisfaction and courage to his associates and confidence to the public.

1. All other responsibilities of the superintendent are secondary to the task of providing the facilities and conditions that make effective teaching and learning possible.

2. Irrespective of the size of the school system, the superintendent has a responsibility for improving instruction. Whether he is limited to himself, whether he has one principal, or whether he is so fortunate as to have a large staff, it is important that he assume responsibility. It is his responsibility: to provide leadership in a continuing analysis of curriculum problems and needs and in the formation of a comprehensive program to meet them; to foster team effort among the instructional workers; to provide for the coordination of the activities of various instructional workers, so that a unified curriculum is developed; to provide resource specialists, needed upon occasion but not continuously in the individual school; to stimulate creativity among the entire teaching force; and to maintain working relations with personnel responsible for other phases of school operation, so that development of a good curriculum is facilitated.

3. The professional growth, vision and insights of the faculty and improvement of the teaching-learning environment are dependent, in no small measure, upon the interest, breadth, and depth of intellectual insights, enthusiasm, and encouragement displayed by the superintendent.

4. The superintendent who effectively meets his responsibility as the educational leader of the staff has a plan of action with several avenues open for the flow of effort and action. It is a long-range and widely sweeping plan that reflects educational vision; it keeps pupil needs clearly in the foreground; it is continuous; it is goal centered; and it reaches everybody on the staff.

5. The superintendent effectively assumes his responsibility for improving the instructional program when he makes provisions that result in the most effective utilization of the skills and competencies of every staff member; when he encourages and fosters participation in professional growth activities by all of his staff; when he interprets the school's program to the public and the public's concern to the teachers; when he protects his faculty from unjust ac-

cusations and intrusions on their time; and when he brings into being other conditions that make it possible for classroom teachers to teach.

6. In weighing proposals and possibilities for changes in the school program, the superintendent and the board may well ask again and again: Is this proposed change consistent with the goals of the school district? Will the activity or programs introduced by the change be reasonable and appropriate? Does the proposed change have, or will it gain, the support of the community? Will the proposed change result in better learning opportunities for children? Will the change be possible without deleting from the curriculum other areas of greater potential value?

7. Each extension of the educational program must be appraised in the light of the existing program and of the educational philosophy of the schools and the community. The cost must be reckoned. If the existing program would be seriously weakened or impaired by the financial effect of the proposed service, then the change should be seriously questioned.

8. It is imperative for the superintendent to have, and to share with the rest of his central staff, a genuine respect for the professional status of classroom teachers.

9. Every fundamental improvement in the curriculum involves teachers. For the curriculum to be truly responsive to the culture, to the needs of young people, to the insistent demands of the community for an ever better educational program, and to the needs of the nation, teachers must develop convictions that curriculum change is desirable; they should have a hand in the process of making the necessary improvements.

10. The school superintendent who is truly an educational statesman realizes that school administration is no longer a one-man job and regards himself as the chief coordinator of a professional team engaged in the highly complex and cooperative enterprise of public education. He has the vision, the courage, and the energy for adequate and competent staff leadership; he creates opportunities for the kind of teacher participation that develops team spirit and builds morale; he is strong enough to admit that he does not and cannot know everything, and freely seeks advice from people sensitive to the highest purposes and possibilities of public education and from people who have specialized technical skills and information; he provides the teaching staff with the material resources and equipment needed for the best possible teaching and learning situations, in which each staff member can work to the best possible advantage.

11. If classroom teachers are to contribute their ideas, observations and suggestions, if they are to make their maximal contribution to improvement of curriculum and instruction, the superintendent must make administrative arrangements that will free the teachers periodically from classroom duties. He must permit them to work with curriculum committees, pursue independent investigations, search the professional literature, counsel with colleagues, visit other teachers on the job, and occasionally just to dream a little.

12. Any basic change in school-board policy, in administrative leadership, in working conditions, in the total environment, in pupil behavior, or in

teachers themselves is almost certain to affect the curriculum. Conversely, the curriculum cannot be changed without a corollary change in school-board policy, administrative leadership, working conditions, the total environment, pupil behavior, teachers themselves, or a combination of these factors.

PROBLEMS FACED BY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Educational administration is comparatively new among the nation's professions. It suffers from growing pains and from problems inherent in its organizational and legal makeup. For example, the teaching profession is segmented and divided both horizontally and vertically. Are superintendents and principal members of the "teaching" profession? Is the status of the professional educator relatively low? Are superintendents vulnerable to practices arising from the inclination of our culture to a place of high priority on business practices?

Can the superintendent meet the individual needs of his teachers while still maintaining the maximum effectiveness of the group? Must superintendents be democratic and permissive or authoritarian and dictatorial? The following selections point up some of the current problems faced by members of the administration profession.

THE PROFESSION IS DIVIDED

Archibald W. Anderson

THE TEACHING profession, like the public, is now segmented both horizontally and vertically. Horizontally, the profession is divided into specialized groups representing subject matter departments and various other types of specialized educational work. Vertically, it is further divided into elementary, secondary, and collegiate levels, accompanied by invidious distinctions in prestige and financial reward. Moreover, vertical segmentation is further complicated by a professional splitting, at each of these levels, into administrative and teaching groups with different degrees of status and authority. In a very genuine sense, all these distinctions represent proper and necessary divisions of function. In the absence of a common orientation to the educational task, however, these differentiations in function have often degenerated with narrow and vested interests with limited distorted views of the over-all

SOURCE: From *The Theoretical Foundations of Education* by Archibald W. Anderson et al. Printed by the Bureau of Research and Service, The College of Education, University of Illinois, 1951. Reprinted by permission of Archibald W. Anderson.

job of education, and into unfortunate and harmful cleavages in authority and status. This condition has seriously hampered the development of professional unity and of a common professional conception of the educational task.

SUPERINTENDENTS ARE EXTREMELY VULNERABLE

Raymond E. Callahan

WHEN I BEGAN this study some five years ago, my intent was to explore the origin and development of the adoption of business values and practices in educational administration. My investigation revealed that this adoption had started about 1900 and had reached the point, by 1930, that, among other things, school administrators perceived themselves as business managers, or, as they would say, "school executives" rather than as scholars and educational philosophers. The question which now became significant was *why* had school administrators adopted business values and practices and assumed the posture of the business executive? Education is not a business. The school is not a factory. Of course, by 1910 the scale of operations in both business and education (in the large cities) had produced large organizations, and so it was reasonable and even legitimate to expect the borrowing of ideas and techniques from one set of institutions to another. But the evidence indicated that the extent of the borrowing had been too great for such an explanation to be adequate.

I had felt that the adoption of business values and practices might be explained simply by the process of cultural diffusion in which the flow of ideas and values is generally from high status or power groups in a culture to those with less status and power. By 1905, as James Bryce pointed out, business was king in American society, and certainly between 1910 and 1929 (if not down to the present time) the business and industrial group has had top status and power in America. On the other hand, it does not take profound knowledge of American education to know that educators are, and have been, a relatively low-status, low-power group. So I was not really surprised to find business ideas and practices being used in education.

What was unexpected was the extent, not only of the power of the business-industrial groups, but of the strength of the business ideology in the American culture on the one hand and the extreme weakness and vulnerability of schoolmen, especially school administrators, on the other. I had expected more professional autonomy and I was completely unprepared for the extent

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and degree of capitulation by administrators to whatever demands were made upon them. I was surprised and then dismayed to learn how many decisions they made or were forced to make, not on educational grounds, but as a means of appeasing their critics in order to maintain their positions in the school.

I am now convinced that very much of what has happened in American education since 1900 can be explained on the basis of the extreme vulnerability of our schoolmen to public criticism and pressure and that this vulnerability is built into our pattern of local support and control. This has been true in the past and, unless changes are made, will continue to be true in the future. Thus it was predictable in 1957 that school administrators would respond quickly to the criticism which followed the launching of the first Russian satellite and would begin to place great emphasis upon science and mathematics. It was also predictable that they would welcome and quickly adopt James B. Conant's recommendations for change in the high schools, for, with his great stature in the country, his suggestions were made to order for defense. Any superintendent who could say that he was adopting Conant's recommendations, or better yet, that his school system had already been following them for years, was almost impregnable.

The point is not whether more or less science and mathematics should be taught in the schools, or whether Conant's suggestions would improve the schools; the point is that when the schools are being criticized, vulnerable school administrators have to respond. The quickness of the response and the nature of the response depend upon the nature and strength of the criticism. Since 1900 this pattern of criticism and response has produced some desirable and some undesirable educational changes, but the real point is that this is an inadequate and inappropriate basis for establishing sound educational policy. It is as far as one can imagine from anything that might be called educational statesmanship. Evidence presented in this study shows that such a method of operation does not necessarily result in "meeting the needs of the community" and it often results in an abdication of responsibility for educational leadership.

As I have pondered the findings of this study and considered their implications for the administration of our schools it seems to me that two major interdependent efforts are needed. One is to change the nature and improve the quality of our graduate work in educational administration; the other is to seek ways and means of reducing the extreme vulnerability of our superintendents in the local school districts. I think the evidence presented in this study indicates that it is time we began to take a hard and realistic look at our patterns of local support and control. These arrangements are supposed to protect us from the tyranny of an all-powerful central government and to provide the opportunity for local initiative and experimentation. Whether either of these ideas is or ever has been valid is at least a legitimate subject for inquiry. It is certain, however, that much of the vulnerability of administrators is due to our traditional means of financing the schools largely through local property taxes and that some basic changes are needed. So long as schoolmen

have a knife poised at their financial jugular vein each year, professional autonomy is impossible. And the problem of getting sufficient professional autonomy for schoolmen cannot be separated from the problem of getting schoolmen who are of a caliber and so trained and educated that the lay public will respect them and be willing to grant them this autonomy. To this end schools and colleges of education will have to raise their standards of admission and improve the quality of their programs of graduate studies for school administrators. To grant autonomy to poorly educated schoolmen would be dangerous; to produce highly qualified individuals and then place them in a weak, insecure, vulnerable position is senseless. The American people probably will not consent to the first possibility; they should not tolerate the latter.

SCHOOLS ARE BUILT BY PRESSURES

American Association of School Administrators

AMERICA'S public school boards and their administrators, the superintendents, live and move in pressures as a sailing craft lives and moves in wind and tide. That is the way it has always been and that is the way it must be—as long as our schools are literally of the people.

If the winds and waves seem to be running to hurricane size lately, that is no reason for dropping the tiller and asking Heaven to view what the ship's officers have to bear. When America's schools cease to navigate thru and by reason of an ocean of cross pressures, we shall have education in the image of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin.

The future of America's children does not lie in turning off the pressures, tho there are a good many extremist pushes right now that the schools could well do without, in the interest of getting on with the business of education. The future, for better or worse, depends on what the school boards and the superintendents do with those pressures.

After all, the whole unique American concept of public responsibility for the education of all children is the result of pressures.

Not long ago, the school board in a western city named a new high school for a pioneer newspaper editor. As dedication day speakers paid their tributes to the late great civic leader, there were two or three in the audience who smiled to themselves—and pictured the old newsman rolling in his grave as he bawled for someone to bring him a pencil. No one except the superintendent and a veteran reporter or two remembered that one of the famed editor's

most brilliant editorial performances at the turn of the century was his long and lively crusade *against* the proposal to extend public education in his city beyond the eighth grade.

Taken singly, most pressures are well intentioned. Many are useful. Taken in the mass, they are overwhelming. If unsorted and unrestrained, they could crowd out the curriculum, disperse the student bodies, stuff the buildings with tons of promotional material, not to mention the greatest danger latent in ungoverned or exploited education pressures—the transposing of the schools into an arena for community fights.

Everyone who is anyone and virtually every organization bigger than the neighborhood crochet club has something to promote in the schools.

A new board member (he has served one year which is about the time it takes to find out it will take three years to learn the job) says he sometimes has a cartoon dream. The center of his dream-picture is a schoolhouse and a playground full of children. Surrounding the school on all sides is a mountainous pile of books, films, brochures, “teaching kits,” salesmen, “experts,” and just plain citizens. The pile, which gets bigger with every repetition of the dream, is pushing at and cascading over the wall around the school. Ranged around the inside of the wall, their arms outstretched to keep it from bursting, are the members of his school board and their superintendent.

He knew they were his school board, he said, by their balding heads and their stance—bent in the middle, with a kind of rump-sprung, morning-after-the-meeting look about them.

The new board member’s dream would be an interpretative breeze for any bush-league psychiatrist; it is so realistic a picture. His concept of the school board and school administrator, holding back the flood like the Dutch boy at the dike, is less dramatic than the actual performance of the men and women who serve, most of them sans pay and sans glory, as directors of one of the biggest and most important businesses in a democracy.

If the agencies that route foreign visitors around the country to give them a picture of American democracy at work could do so, they would be smart to cap the itinerary with a six-month assignment to the best school board and administration they could find. (Or, for a taste of total war, take them out with a weak board.)

If it really is a good board, working in harmony with a good administrative staff, and if the visitor could watch it long enough to see it pick its way among rocks, shoals, storms, any one of which could cripple the schools, those visitors would see the very pattern of the thing that holds and shapes this nation. They might marvel at what they saw.

Taking cases singly, the performance of the American public toward its schools can be pretty contradictory.

Employers write letters to the editor declaring that the schools do everything except teach kids to read, write, and figure. And the next week a businessmen’s organization suggests adding to the curriculum a class in how to apply for a job, with their members as visiting teachers.

Professional people organize for a “return to the fundamentals,” and then

turn up at the next board meeting as members of a dads' club, with a demand for \$100,000 worth of new football field for their school.

Mrs. Anderson¹ tells her club there are too many administrators and supervisors wasting taxpayers' money and too many children running around on field trips; then she takes 40 minutes of administrative time arguing that 50 children should be excused to sing for a benefit luncheon.

Individual board members publicly oppose federal aid to education and then work hours with the district's business officers filling out forms that will qualify their district for emergency building grants or school lunch aid.

Businessmen contribute to paid promotional agencies aimed at cutting the "frills"—and costs—of education while at the same time industry pours millions of its promotion dollars into the schools in the shape of free teaching aids on everything from how to eat cheese to the history of automobiles.

ECONOMIC, IDEOLOGICAL STAKES ARE HIGH

These are the American public schools—true bulwark of democracy—and in plain advertising language, the biggest, most coveted "sucker list" on earth.

The case of the insurance company referred to earlier in this chapter illustrates the dollars-and-cents value of the school audience. This company, which offered extremely low accident rates to the district if it would pull out of the schools' state cooperative student insurance plan, admitted it could not break even on the rates it offered. Officials said, quite candidly, that the opportunity to send their salesmen into the home of every child who sprained an ankle or bumped his head on the playground was a promotional bonanza that the biggest advertising budget in the country couldn't buy.

So big and so important is the school audience, whether the object be selling an idea or a product, that every major industry, virtually every large Citizens' organization, and the government itself, has some kind of an education program. From the nostalgic concept of Mr. Chips to the highly paid "education director" for an industrial or advertising concern is a far cry, but no farther than is the distance between yesterday's demands on the schools and those of today.

Putting out "free and inexpensive" teaching materials for the nation's classrooms has become a sizeable byproduct of industry and of social, patriotic, political, labor, and business organizations.

There aren't any statistics on the volume of this comparatively new business. But the estimate of educators in the curriculum libraries of the schools, that twice as much is spent for films, books, brochures, and "teacher kits" by agencies outside the schools as the schools pay for their total textbook bill, is reasonable.

The schools themselves, in an effort to keep up with their changing world, particularly the field of science and industry, have asked for a part of this flood of free and inexpensive material. The material has its own byproducts

¹ Names used in this Yearbook to illustrate local school situations are fictitious.

in the form of learned treatises on the evaluation and use of this extracurriculum resource.²

The spectacle does give a dramatic and dollars-and-cents illustration of how completely education is now part of the entire social and economic fabric of American life; and of what a change has taken place since the day when the school was considered a thing apart—an oasis in the community where teachers and children pursued the recondite business of education in a vacuum.

Incredible as it seems, there are still a few persons who think of the public schools, not as a right of the individual and a necessity for survival of the nation, but as something the benevolent rich provide for the welfare of the poor. For these (and some of them find their way onto the school boards) the very mass and cost of the business-government-organizational interest in schools should be significant. The money and time invested by these extra-school agencies is proof of their belief that what happens to the nation's youth, between six and 21 years, determines what the economic, the social, as well as the governmental, status of the country shall be.

With every extension of public interest and pressures in the schools, the role of the board and administration as directors—and sifters—of these pressures is more vital and more difficult.

REEFS AND SHOALS

Few school board problems are easy. Even those which at first seem to be black and white, when placed in perspective—of all the children, all the buildings, for years to come—reveal unexpected ramifications.

Patrons of a new high-school building want to set up their own recreation district and tax themselves to roof the swimming pool so it can operate the year around. Sounds sensible and won't cost the district except for maintenance. But what of the six other high schools? Three have open pools; the rest, none. Will you lay the district open to demands from all of them for roofs and pools? Or will you say No, and monkey wrench the wheels of local initiative?

You have a firm policy of districting in which children are routed to various schools only on basis of distance and transportation facilities. Comes a burst of immigration and you suddenly find that this policy is giving you what amounts to a segregated school—in a community in which segregation, no matter how it might come about, is anathema both to white and nonwhite.

Do you break the districting policy in the interest of keeping a balance of race, and start assigning children to buildings according to color? And if

² American Association of School Administrators. *Choosing Free Materials for Use in the Schools*. Washington, D.C.: the Association, a department of the National Education Association, 1955, 24 pp.

National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools. *How Good Are Our Teaching Materials?* New York: the Commission (2 West 45th St.), 1955. "Industry-Sponsored Materials," pp. 48-52.

you do, how will you hold the line against the other requests for exceptions to districting lines?

A church school asks that three of its pupils who are deaf be allowed to come part time into the special speech classes of one of the public schools, because the church school can't afford such service and because the state pays part of the cost of special education for public school districts.

Do you say Yes to these three when there happens to be room for them and the cost would be trifling? Or do you say No because you think any other action would open the door to further requests for expensive special teaching, and because you think this is a good time for the state, or somebody, to make up its mind just what the responsibilities of the public schools are? Either answer may invite a lawsuit.

Protests come over the rental of a school building to a certain speaker. Do you decide the question on the basis of the board's stated policy—when that policy doesn't contain grounds for barring the man? Or do you decide this one off the cuff and put the board in the position of acting as judge of each individual case that comes up in the future?

Pitching slider balls to school boards isn't the exclusive sport of the public. Teachers can and do toss a good many curves.

A teacher organization will fight for years, belaboring the board in the name of raising the professional level, into giving them a salary schedule tied tightly to years of schooling plus years of experience. Then the board, in response to their plea for higher wages for career teachers, raises the top of the scale and doesn't raise a few old-timers who haven't bothered to get college degrees. Immediately, the teachers forget their pitch for educational requirements and raise clamorous complaint.

Principals make speeches to parent groups dedicating their schools to a stiff emphasis on the Three R's. They submit board reports showing the too-crowded curriculum day of their students. Then come delegations of lay people asking that driver-training, psychology, social dancing, or steam fitting be taught in high schools. And who has endorsed their petitions? These same principals.

And then there are demands of other government agencies. While the public operation of school districts is the nearest thing to direct local government left in the United States, school boards are subject to a good many pressures from other governmental bodies.

These pressures are not always recognized by the people, but frequently are harassingly evident to board member and superintendent.

All local boards are subject to state school laws. The legislature can set the compulsory school age up or down. It can legislate physical education in or out, or driver-training, or home economics, or special teaching of the handicapped, or compulsory medical and dental examinations, or any one of dozens of school subjects and services.

It can, thru law, lift the level of schools thruout the state. It can also legislate changes that cost money without providing money to pay for them. It can add to the curriculum without considering where, in the crowded school

day, the local board and administrator are going to find time—or money—to add the new studies.

State departments of education, under their legislative mandates, can hand the board some challenging, and also some impossible, hurdles in the shape of standards for school buildings, teacher certification, textbooks, and many other areas.

The federal government affects local schools thru its long-time support of a vocational-agricultural-home-economics program administered by state vocational heads who set standards which the districts must meet if they are to receive financial help.

Every local school board, no matter how independent, must comply with city and county rulings in matters of fire and building codes, zoning, highways and traffic routings, and the like.

Where the school district is tied to city government (a pattern more common in older parts of the country than in the West), you may have what it is an understatement to call a pressure. Where the approval of the school budget or the appointment of the school board is in the hands of a politically variable mayor and city council, the situation of board and superintendent may be nearer to being in a strait jacket than to dealing with pressures.

Whether the school board has fiscal independence or not, the partisan politics that go with local government may help to set school policies. The opinion of a local political figure may have more weight in deciding the fate of a school-bond issue than the needs of the schools or the community's ability to meet those needs.³

* * * * *

THE DEPRESSIVE STATE OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

A. John Bartky

INTRODUCTION

EDUCATIONAL leadership today is developing into a cult with its own standards of success and its own moral code of behavior. Neophyte leaders are initiated into the mysteries of this cult by schools of education, and practicing leaders deviate from its commandments at the risk of being ex-

³ *School Executive*. "Political Leaders Influence School Issues, Study Shows." *School Executive* 74: 90-93; July 1955.

SOURCE: From *The Clearing House*, November 1963, pp. 131-135. Reprinted by permission of *The Clearing House*, Fairleigh Dickinson University, Teaneck, New Jersey.

communicated from the educational profession. Teachers are inclined to evaluate their leadership in the light of the cult's Holy Scriptures, and teacher organizations charge school administrators with unethical conduct if their leadership does not conform to the cult's moral code. Cultism has come to completely dominate the educational leadership scene.

The educational leadership cult is group oriented, and it emphasizes group process in its rituals. Its converts who become leaders shrink from exercising any dominance and hesitate to contribute their ideas lest they be suspected of trying to influence the group they lead. The group must be left free to decide everything for itself by a process of discussion and consensus. Devotees to the cult assume that a teacher group is autonomous and in no way obligated to the social environment, including the public. Hence, teacher decisions may be in opposition to those made democratically by the public. By concluding that the function of leadership is to serve the needs of teachers, the leadership cult tends to reduce the leader to the level of a domestic servant.

As a consequence of his forced conversion to the precepts of the educational leadership cult, the school administrator is rapidly becoming immobilized, and the attainment of educational objectives is being jeopardized. Destructive negative, rather than constructive positive, feelings are being displayed by the teacher, and school morale is low. In general, conditions have so deteriorated that the public is demanding a new, forceful leadership, and theorists are examining leadership activity in the hope of discovering how to make it more functional. Such endeavors might well begin with a consideration of how the teacher and the school organization interact and the role leadership should play in guiding this interaction.

A teacher is a human being, a school organization a corporate body created to serve other human beings. Both are important. Both have needs that must be met by appropriate teacher behavior. The teacher personality describes how he meets his needs; the school organization postulates the role he must play to meet the needs of the school. An analysis of the needs of the teacher and the needs of the school, however, reveals a basic conflict between the behaviors called for to satisfy the demands of both. The behavior described by the teacher's personality to meet his needs may be at variance with the behavior prescribed by the school organizational structure to meet educational objectives. A compromise is called for, and this fusion of the two behaviors is called "organizational behavior." School leadership is basically concerned with the nature, origin, use, and control of the organizational behavior of teachers. It is responsible for the fusion process.

Because of the fact that behavior satisfying teacher needs is not always compatible with that demanded by the school organizational structure, conflict and frustration are likely to develop. These are hypothesized to grow more unbearable as a teacher matures, as he becomes subordinate in the chain of command, or as his task becomes specialized to the point of monotony. As conflict and frustration become more and more uncomfortable, the teacher may seek relief in several ways: he may resign, he may attempt to escape by climbing the administrative ladder, he may become apathetic, disinterested,

and uninvolved, or he may just accept professional dissatisfaction and chase money or some other intrinsic rewards. In all events, his behavior will become more and more nonfunctional to the organization he serves. The inhibition of such behavior and its modification are tasks assigned to educational leadership.

The school leader may approach these tasks in several ways:

(1) He may elect to favor the needs of the school organization and insist that the structure designed to best meet these needs be maintained. To do so, he must be able to influence effectively the opinions, attitudes, and behavior of teachers in line with the best interests of the organization. He must, above all things, have the power of organizational sanctions and personal competence. He must be in a position to exercise directive leadership. This form of leadership is discouraged by cultists, who sneeringly refer to it as "autocratic" leadership.

(2) He may elect to favor the needs of the teachers by building the school organization in ways to avoid teacher conflict and frustration. To do so he must be group centered and skilled in the management of group dynamics. He must be devoted to the idea of participation and must have confidence in the power of the group. He must be able to exercise permissive leadership. This form of leadership is lauded by the cultists, who euphoniously label it "democratic" leadership.

(3) He may elect to favor neither teachers nor organization and devote himself to the health of the *total* organization which embodies both. To do so, he must be able to diagnose a leadership situation and prescribe the proper leadership approach, which may be either directive or permissive. Argyris calls this "reality" leadership.¹

This paper will argue that effective leadership depends upon the establishment of the proper balance between the satisfaction of the teacher needs and the satisfaction of school needs. It will suggest that the choice of a leadership pattern is not a matter of favoring one or the other. Hence, it cannot advocate the cultist leadership that is exclusively permissive or the autocratic leadership that is exclusively directive. By discussing all three approaches listed above, it will demonstrate that reality leadership is the only rational approach to employ in educational situations.

DIRECTIVE LEADERSHIP

Educational leaders, as agents of the formal school organization, are often tempted to react to undesirable organizational behavior on the part of teachers, or try to inhibit it, by becoming more and more directive. They are invited to increase the degree of technically competent leadership by clarifying, redefining, or strengthening the school structure. They set up all kinds of "information," "education," "communication," and "human relations" programs

¹ C. Argyris, *Personality and Organization* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 207.

to further this end. These actions, instead of reducing the fundamental cause of conflict and frustration, often augment it and create new causes. However, leadership may continue in its directive ways, hoping that the time will come when the teachers will adapt, and conflict and frustration will disappear.

That this occurs is evidenced by the armed forces, who insist upon maintaining their structure and who are eventually successful in internalizing it as a value in the eyes of their constituents. However, educational leadership does not have the sanction power of the military and cannot survive long periods of teacher conflict and frustration.

Nevertheless, directive leadership makes teachers dependent upon the leader, and it is possible that once they become accustomed to dependence, some of them, if kept in this state, will learn to contribute effectively. This may partially explain those schools where directive leadership is successful. Perhaps they had more than their share of teachers who prefer to be dependent.

Leadership cultists are prone to state that directive leadership is never to be desired, but their contention is not valid. Morse and Reimer, in a controlled field experiment, present evidence that production can be increased to a greater degree through a directive leadership than through a permissive one.²

Directive leadership is obviously functional in times of urgency or emergency, when immediate organizational action is demanded. Under such circumstances, a little teacher discomfort may be a cheap price for efficiency. Directive leadership is also necessary when a teacher is uncooperative and refuses to change his ways. In such instances, some conflict and frustration is often quite effective in encouraging him to modify his behavior. Directive leadership under the name of autocratic leadership may be an anathema to the leadership cult, but it often is the only effective leadership.

PERMISSIVE LEADERSHIP

A leadership approach specifically designed to combat teacher conflict and frustration with organizational structure is a permissive approach. This approach widens the tolerance limits of the organizational role. It is more democratic, more involving, more collaborative, and more teacher centered than the directive approach. Lippitt and White's operational definition of the democratic leader best describes the permissive approach. If we relate their definition to the school situation, we find that the democratic school leader:

- (1) Permits all teachers to discuss school policy formation. He invites participation in the decision-making process.
- (2) Encourages teacher discussion about future as well as present educational activity. He does not try to keep teachers in ignorance of future plans.
- (3) Permits teachers to define their own job situation as much as possible.

² N. C. Morse and E. Reimer, "The Experimental Change of a Major Organization Variable," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Volume 52, No. 1 (January, 1956), pp. 120-129.

- For example, teachers are encouraged to determine the way tasks are to be accomplished as well as the manner in which they are to be fragmented and assigned.
- (4) Focuses on obtaining objective facts relative to teacher problems. The leader tries to base any necessary praise or censure upon objective facts. He is never subjective.³

These admonitions have become the four commandments of the educational leadership cult. They are the ethical principles that form the basis for evaluating leadership. A school administrator is not presumed to be a leader if he does not conform to these ethical principles.

It is assumed, but not readily demonstrated, that permissive leadership ends in (1) increased teacher identification with the school organization, (2) greater group productivity whether the leader is present or not, (3) increased job satisfaction and teacher morale, (4) greater organizational flexibility, (5) fewer teacher complaints, and (6) less hostility, frustration, and aggression.

Permissive leadership is advertised by the leadership cultists as being the leadership favored by teachers as well as the leadership ending in the greatest productivity. Neither contention is universally valid. Permissive leadership is not necessarily universally favored because not all teachers are actively seeking the job satisfaction it promises, because not all teachers are anxious to participate in school decision-making, because not all teachers are seeking the psychological rewards promised, and because not all teachers do want to be independent of school administration. Some teachers become just as frustrated with permissive leaders as others do with directive ones. The claim that permissive leadership invariably leads to higher productivity can be challenged and disproved.⁴

REALITY LEADERSHIP

Recent research in fields other than education leads me to question whether there is one best way (as suggested by the educational leadership cultists) to lead teachers. Fiedler accosts the cultists with the statement that effective leaders do not even try to understand their followers.⁵ He insists such leaders tend to make value judgments, are critical, and do not accept poor co-workers. Additional research has found that too much emphasis on maintaining a friendly atmosphere can reduce a group's goal of achieving efficiency. Still others find that groups with little cohesiveness can perform as effectively as

³ R. White and R. Lippitt, "Leader Behavior and Member Reaction in Three Social Climates," in Cartwright and Zander's *Group Dynamics* (Evanston: Row Peterson, 1953), pp. 585-611.

⁴ Morse and Reimer, *op. cit.*

⁵ F. C. Fiedler, "Non-Fraternization Between Leaders and Followers and Its Effects on Group Productivity and Psychological Adjustment." Paper presented at Conference on Preventive and Social Psychiatry, Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, April, 1957.

groups with much cohesiveness. One study, in attempting to evaluate a directive versus a permissive leader, found that women prefer the former and men the latter. Another study implied that a leader need not even conform to the opinions of his followers.

The question might well be asked, why did an educational leadership cult that favors permissive leadership develop when it is obvious that it does not always work? The answer lies in the following facts. Many educators are inclined to apply what are little more than leadership insights to specific problems as universal absolutes rather than foundations for diagnoses. Permissive leadership principles have become absolutes for cultists. Also, because they tend to apply human relations hypotheses, based upon a consideration of one isolated dimension of reality where hundreds intrude themselves, they are more certain of their findings than they have a right to be. Lastly, because the name "democratic" leadership is attractive and "autocratic" leadership is repulsive, what the former represents is accepted, and what the latter represents is rejected. Also, one who is in favor of the first and against the second seems to be in the same strategic position as one who is in favor of virtue and against sin.

Unfortunately for the welfare of education, the field of leadership behavior has developed by evolving extreme positions. Historically, first came the proponents for organizational needs, with their directive leadership approach. When they had exhausted its possibilities in reaction to the teacher conflict and frustration, they caused the emergence of the proponents of teacher needs and permissive leadership. As a consequence, school needs are now being neglected. However, sooner than swing back to directive leadership, an action demanded by the public and some teachers, let us permit the pendulum to rest close to a middle position. Let us adopt a reality leadership which asks only that we diagnose the whole organizational structure and the teachers and that we swing to directive or permissive leadership as the situation demands: directive when the needs of the school are being neglected, permissive when the needs of the teacher are being ignored.

CONCLUSION

We might conclude by presenting the following propositions as hypotheses for a leadership approach:

- (1) There tends to be a lack of congruity between teachers' behavior to satisfy their own needs and the behavior demanded of them by the school.
- (2) This lack of congruity can cause conflict and frustration which may end in nonfunctional and even destructive teacher action.
- (3) School leadership may circumvent and avoid this behavior either by directing conformance or by permitting a restructuring of the school organization.
- (4) If directive leadership does not end in more undesirable behavior, then it is the leadership approach to be employed. Otherwise, a permissive leadership is called for.

(5) The balance between satisfying teacher needs and school needs is a delicate one. Hence, leadership can never assume a static posture such as that recommended by the permissive leadership cultists.

CASES IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

A vignette is a short case situation given in an anecdote in which the school administrator is faced with an actual problem demanding an immediate decision. There are usually some long-range implications in even the simplest situation of fact, but the focus in the vignette ordinarily is upon the situation which must be dealt with at the moment.

The following vignettes show the types of situations which constitute the day-to-day activity of the school principal.

VIGNETTE I

The band director comes to the principal and asks that a ruling be made that all band students must ride a school bus to and from out-of-town football games. The reasons he gives are that it is difficult to assemble the band when students arrive at many different times and that some girl students slip off after the games and go home with older men. The principal makes the desired ruling. Later in the day an irate mother comes into the principal's office and announces that her daughter, who is in the band, will not ride the bus, and that she (the mother) will take the matter "to the board of education" if necessary. What course of action should the principal take?

VIGNETTE II

Miss Jones, a first-grade teacher, comes to the principal and asks permission to leave at 2:45 today. She explains that she could obtain a beauty shop appointment only for 3:00 P.M. First- and second-grade teachers send their children home at 2:45, but they are required to remain with the other teachers until 3:30. In the past the principal has always given permission for first- and second-grade teachers to leave at 2:45 as such requests have been infrequent and reasonable. Recently, however, more and more first- and second-grade teachers have been asking to leave at 2:45 for less and less adequate reasons. Upper-grade teachers are complaining about so many first- and second-grade teachers leaving at 2:45, and the principal knows that the superintendent considers first- and second-grade teachers to be on duty until 3:30. However, Miss Jones has never asked to leave at 2:45 before. Should the principal grant Miss Jones' request?

VIGNETTE III

An elementary principal receives a telephone call from the administration building early on Monday morning of the third week of school. Be-

cause of a decreased enrollment in the fourth-grade department of his school, the principal is entitled to three fourth-grade teachers instead of the four he has on his staff at present. He must therefore transfer one of his fourth-grade teachers to another assignment within the district.

All the fourth-grade teachers in his school are top-notch teachers. The decision of which one to transfer is not an easy one. How does the principal proceed in carrying out the decision of the administration to transfer a teacher and still take into account the feelings and desires of the staff about this matter?

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Suppose that you are a building principal and the superintendent indicates that there is enough money for your own in-service development to provide the following for your office:

- (a) A small shelf stocked with professional books;
- (b) Subscriptions to three professional magazines; and
- (c) Memberships in two professional organizations (not classroom teacher organizations).

Indicate your choices by preparing a memo addressed to the superintendent of schools. Indicate the books you wish him to order, listing place of publication, publisher, and date, as well as the reasons for your particular choices. For the magazines, give the annual subscription prices and your reasons for the choices. Do the same with your professional memberships.

Prepare the memo to hand in.

2. Prepare a vignette based on an actual incident which was either in your experience or came to your attention. Do not reveal the way in which the problem was solved. Be prepared to present your vignette to the class and lead in a discussion of possible solutions.

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CHAPTER 3

School Administration in America

HISTORY OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Five months after he assumed the office of Secretary to the Massachusetts State Board of Education, Horace Mann presented the board with a comprehensive report of the conditions in the schools of the state. Technically, this first report, and the eleven annual reports which followed, were the earliest examples of the superintendent's annual report, a standard form of reporting in educational administration.*

Under the heading "The Manner in which the School Committees Performed their Duties," Horace Mann reported that the school committees of 1837, unled by professional administrators, had fallen into some bad habits. They were neglectful about the time of examining teachers, Mann declared, in the character of the qualifying examinations for teachers' certificates, and in rejecting incompetent candidates for teaching. Furthermore, they failed to observe the law which required them to provide uniform textbooks at town expense when the parents were unable to supply the texts. Especially trying was their lack of vigor in enforcing attendance, regularity, and punctuality among the scholars, and their reluctance to visit the schools as the law demanded.†

Mann's observations were not surprising. Laymen who served on the early school committees could find little time for visiting schools, listening to scholars' achievements, or screening persons for teaching certificates. There was clearly a need for an employee to do this work for them and to report the progress of the schools. Fortunately, the admonitions of Horace Mann were heeded by some of the early school committees; they began to hire a clerk or business agent to take over

* Henry Barnard, *American Journal of Education* (Hartford, Conn.: F. C. Brownell, 1856), Vol. V, pp. 654-656.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 623-624.

some of the routine tasks of managing the schools. The door was thus opened to the employment of professional school administrators at a later date.

• The superintendency started at the state level and spread gradually downward. A study conducted in 1880 revealed that a chief educational officer at the state level was present in all the thirty-eight states then in the Union. Closely upon the heels of the state superintendency followed the county, or intermediate, superintendency. With the rise of cities containing increasing numbers of school building units, the superintendency at the local level came into being.

The following selection from Mann's first annual report reveals his concern over some of the problems baffling the leaderless school committees of his day.

THE SECRETARY'S FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

Horace Mann

SCHOOL-COMMITTEE men, both prudential and superintending, occupy a controlling position in relation to our Common Schools. They are the administrators of the system; and in proportion to the fidelity and intelligence exercised by them, the system will flourish or decline.

Although it is not always in the power of school committees to introduce into the schools devoted and accomplished teachers, yet it is in their power, and it is a most responsible and solemn part of their duty, not to inflict upon the children of a whole district the calamity of an ignorant, ill-tempered, or profane teacher. It is no trivial arbitrament to decide, whether a school shall be a blessing or a nuisance, and therefore the question of a teacher's fitness is not to be guessed at, but solemnly pondered. If the husbandman, by any effort of body or of mind, by toil or supplication, could foredoom and predestinate what sort of seasons should spread mildew and barrenness over his fields, and leave him empty granaries, or what should make his pastures luxuriant and heap his garner, he surely would not be content with conjecture, with superficial and scanty inquiry, or with hasty decisions. And yet what the seasons are to the fields and crops of the farmer, the teacher is to the children of the school. Nay, more; he is season and cultivation also. No part, therefore, of the examination of applicants for schools is form. It is all substance. It is all pregnant with good or evil; because the certificate of the committee is a

SOURCE: Horace Mann, *Lectures and Annual Reports on Education*, Vol. II of *Life and Works of Horace Mann Series*, edited by Mary Mann (Boston: Geo. C. Rand and Avery, printer; published for the Editor, 1867), pp. 390-408.

commission to the teacher, under which he may usurp a place to do but little good, where another would do much; or under which, perhaps, he may do great and remediless harm, without any admixture of good.

The law of 1826 required school committees to obtain evidence of the good moral character of all instructors, and to ascertain, "by personal examination *or otherwise*, their literary qualifications and capacity for the government of schools." In the Revised Statutes, the words "*or otherwise*" were intentionally omitted. Hence the duty of *personal examination* became, in all cases, imperative. So great, however, is the tax imposed by this requirement upon the time of the committees, that from the best information I have been able to obtain, I am led to believe, that in a majority of instances, the examination is either wholly omitted, or is formal and superficial, rather than intent and thorough.

The engagement of a teacher by the prudential committee, subject to the approval of the committee of the town, is itself a step of great importance; because there are intrinsic objections to the use of the veto power by the latter, and it can never be exercised without reluctance and hazard. The prudential committee ought not, therefore, to be compelled to close a bargain at the first offer, but he should have opportunity for full inquiries, or, at least, for availing himself of such information as might come in his way, during the season. The law fixes no time for the election of prudential-committeemen, when chosen by the districts. In some large districts, through which I passed late in the autumn, that officer had not been chosen for the current year. When chosen, he could have no opportunity for extended inquiry or discriminating selection, but would be almost compelled to employ the first person whom chance should throw in his way.

Again; the law expressly requires every teacher to obtain, from the school committee of the town, a certificate of his qualifications "*before he opens the school.*" This implies, that it is a violation of duty on the part of a teacher to open a school previously to obtaining such a certificate; and also, on the part of the town committee, to examine a teacher after he has opened his school, for the purpose of giving him a retro-active certificate. Magistrates and officers might as well enter upon the discharge of their duties, with the expectation of being qualified some time before or after the close of their official term. The reason for this prohibition upon teachers and committees is unanswerable. After the teacher has intruded into the school without a certificate, other considerations, besides fitness, come in, and strenuously urge, if they do not morally compel, the committee to give him one. Just before a school begins, parents generally make arrangements for dispensing with the personal services of their children. Some take them away from regular and profitable employments. During the first few weeks of a school, the children never study with the same facility, nor are they able to make the same progress, as afterwards. Even men cannot rally and apply their whole mental forces, on the first day of commencing an unaccustomed work. It is a subject of universal regret with good teachers of short schools, that as soon as the school has gathered impetus, it is arrested. A change of teachers, when a

school has just opened, is, in itself, a great misfortune; because different persons have different regulations and different modes of administering them. In all schools, the harness of good order and discipline will chafe a little at first, and some time must elapse before it will sit easy. At the opening of a school, a teacher ought to learn the proficiency of his scholars, for the purpose of arranging classes, and as a basis of judicious advice in regard to advanced studies. In the course of two or three weeks, a teacher of any discernment will get an insight respecting the peculiar temperment and disposition of each scholar, and he will find avenues, or open them, by which a readier access can be had to his pupils' minds. A school will but partially develop its powers of advancement, until teacher and pupils become acquainted; until the standing relations between them are established, and their minds are so mutually fitted into each other as to work without friction. Suppose, at this moment, when the school ought to be under strong headway, the teacher is presented to the committee for examination and approval; and, in addition to such considerations as those above suggested, the prudential committee enforces the demand of a certificate with the plea, that it is now too late in the season to obtain any better substitute. Now, the painful alternative may be directly presented, either to approve an incompetent teacher, or to reject him and break up the school:—two modes about equally efficient in running the school for that season. Between these evils, however, there is a choice;—a badly kept school being worse than none. Yet the first is the branch of the alternative far the most likely to be accepted; because the evil of breaking up the school is instant and impending, while that of its continuance, though greater, is remote; and it is a rule, lamentably prevalent in the actions of men, that when a less but immediate evil comes in competition with one far greater, but more remote, the former prevails. The malignity of the case is, that it enlists all the good motives of the committee on the bad side.

From facts which have come to my knowledge, I am constrained to believe, that, in *two-thirds* at least of the towns in the Commonwealth, this provision of the law is more or less departed from. And in the great majority of the cases where an examination is had, previous to the opening of the school, it takes place on the very eve of its commencement, when the evils above enumerated must partially ensue from a rejection of the candidate, and, therefore, undue motives in favor of granting a certificate must have a proportionate force.

Another evasion of much rarer occurrence, though of a far more mischievous tendency, is, that the school is kept for the stipulated period, and then the prudential committee gives the teacher an order on the town treasurer, and the town treasurer pays the money, without any certificate ever having been obtained or applied for. Indeed, the relation between the prudential and the town committee, in regard to the employment of teachers, contains in itself an element of variance or hostility, which is oftentimes developed into open rupture, and more often, perhaps, suppressed, by injurious yielding and acquiescence on the part of the latter. So manifest is this tendency, and so

unhappy its consequences, that very many judicious men maintain the expediency of vesting the whole power of employing teachers in the town committee.

Another duty of the town committee is that of directing what books shall be used in the schools. There is a public evil of great magnitude in the multiplicity and diversity of elementary books. They crowd the market, and infest the schools. One would suppose there might be uniformity in rudiments, at least; yet the greatest variety prevails. Some books claim superiority, because they make learning easy, and others because they make it difficult. All decry their predecessors, or profess to have discovered new and better modes of teaching. By a change of books, a child is often obliged to unlearn what he had laboriously acquired before. In many important particulars, the pronunciation, the orthography, and the syntax of our language changes, according to the authority consulted. Truth and philosophy, in regard to teaching, assume so many shapes, that common minds begin to doubt whether there be truth or philosophy under any. The advantages of cheapness, resulting from improvements in the art of printing, are intercepted from the public, to whom they rightfully belong, and divided among compilers. Over this, as an expensive public mischief, as a general discouragement to learning, and as a misfortune of the Commonwealth, town committees have no control. But it is still in their power, and it is an important and substantial part of their duty, as enjoined by law, "to direct what books shall be used in the several schools," in their respective towns. When the committee fails in directing what books shall be used, a way is opened for the introduction of books which are expressly prohibited by law, as "calculated to favor the tenets of particular sects of Christians." Under such omission, also, the schoolhouse may cease to be neutral ground between those different portions of society, now so vehemently contending against each other on a variety of questions of social and national duty. Instances of both kinds have occurred, and were, under such circumstances, to be expected; because it is the nature of extreme views to make all other truths bow down before the idolized truth. But the liability and the temptation should be cut off. Would the disciples of hostile doctrines look forward, and foresee to what results a breach of the truce in regard to the schoolroom must infallibly lead, it seems scarcely credible that each should not agree, in good faith, to refrain from every attempt to preoccupy the minds of school children with his side of vexed and complicated questions, whether of state, or theology; and that all should not concur, in regard to an evil so self-propagating and ruinous, in enforcing measures which would bar out the possibility of its occurrence. The only reason urged by school committees for a non-compliance with the provision of law in relation to selecting books, is, that parents object to the expense of purchasing so many new books as would give uniform sets to the school. Hence the evil is endued with a self-perpetuating power; because, as it increases, the obstacle to its removal increases also. Where a diversity of books prevails in a school, there will necessarily be unfitness and mal-adjustment in the classification of scholars. Those who ought to recite together are separated by a difference of books. If eight

or ten scholars, in geography, for instance, have eight or ten different books, as has sometimes happened, instead of one recitation for all, there must be eight or ten recitations. Thus the teacher's time is crumbled into dust and dissipated. Put a question to a class of ten scholars, and wait a moment for each one to prepare an answer in his own mind, and then name the one to give the answer, and there are ten mental operations going on simultaneously; and each one of the ten scholars will profit more by this social recitation than he would by a solitary one of the same length. But if there must be ten recitations, instead of one, the teacher is, as it were, divided by ten, and reduced to the tenth part of a teacher. Nine-tenths of his usefulness is destroyed. The same would be true in regard to most other studies. This irretrievable loss is incurred, merely because parents will not agree to procure the best books.

It would seem, beforehand, that no duty of school committees could be more acceptable to parents, than that of enforcing a uniformity of books in all the schools of a town. Every school, where there are no regulations upon this subject, holds out a standing invitation to every bookpeddler and speculator, to foist in his books, which may be new, or they be books whose sheets may have been printed for years, but garnished with a new titlepage bearing a recent date. The diversity may be aggravated through the intervention of the teacher, who often desires to introduce the books from which he, himself, learnt, or has been accustomed to teach. But if the books are prescribed, all applications for a change must be made directly to the committee, and imposition becomes impracticable, or, at least, the chances of it are very much reduced. While the diversity continues, each succeeding teacher will urge the children to procure his favorite books; the children will importune their parents, and enough of them will prevail to perpetuate the mischief. There cannot be a doubt, that the aggregate expense of books, for any given number of years, will be much greater in towns where the committee are thwarted by the parents in the discharge of this duty, than in towns where it is duly performed. In this, as in any other operation or business whatever, the absence of system and pre-arrangement doubles cost and halves profits. Families can rarely remove from one town to another, and, very often, they cannot, even from one district to another in the same town, without incurring the expense of a new set of books for their children. This bears, in every respect, most hardly upon the poor.

Notwithstanding the manifest advantages of a performance of this branch of duty, and the grievous mischiefs resulting from its neglect, it is neglected in about *one hundred towns*, or one-third part of the towns in the Commonwealth.

The law further provides, that, in case any scholar shall not be furnished by his parent, master, or guardian, with the requisite books, "he shall be supplied therewith at the expense of the town." Few things seem more preposterous than to send children to school, or to keep them there, for the purpose of *not* studying. Half a dozen children, stationed in different parts of a school, with nothing to do for want of books, will soon enlist three times their number in the same service. In not less than forty towns is this duty

wholly omitted. Children attend school, surrounded by temptations to mischief, and without any means of occupation.

An inquiry into the "regulation and discipline" of the schools is another of the duties enjoined upon the town committee; and so important is this duty, in the judgment of the law, that its performance is commanded, not only at the opening and close of the schools, but at each of the monthly visitations. Under this head, many points are embraced, vital to the cause of Common-School education. I will give but a single example. The "regulation" of a school comprises the means of insuring as much punctuality and regularity as possible in the attendance of all the children in the district. Absences and tardiness are great obstructions to progress. The punctual are injured by them hardly less than the delinquent. In some towns, the excellent practice of keeping daily registers by the teachers, to be exhibited to the committee at each visitation, of holding the scholars to a strict account for all absences, and of discouraging desertion from the school by all other practicable means, has obviated almost all delinquencies of this kind. In other towns, where the attendance upon school is prompted by no motive, nor enforced by any salutary regulation, habits of idleness and truantship in the present children are laying the foundations of vagrancy, poverty, and vice in the future men.

In connection with this topic of the "regulation" of a school, as one of the means of securing punctuality in the attendance of scholars, it is material to advert to another provision of the law, which makes it the joint and several duty of school committees, resident ministers of the gospel, and selectmen, "in their several towns, to exert their influence and use their best endeavors, that the youth of their towns shall regularly attend the schools established for their instruction." The success attendant upon the exertions of these officers, to secure a "regular" attendance upon schools, will appear by the following statement:—

The whole number of children, in the 294 towns which have made returns, who are between <i>four</i> and <i>sixteen</i> years of age, is	177,053
If from this number we deduct twelve thousand, as the number of children who attend private schools and academies, and do not attend the public schools at all, there will remain	165,053
Whole number of scholars <i>of all ages</i> , attending school in winter	141,837
Whole number of scholars <i>of all ages</i> , attending school in summer	122,889
The <i>average</i> attendance in winter is	111,520
Do. Do. in summer is	94,956
So that the <i>average</i> attendance, in winter, of children <i>of all ages</i> , falls below the whole number of children in the State between 4 and 16 years of age, who depend wholly upon the Common Schools	53,533
And in summer it falls below that number	70,097

That is, a portion of the children, dependent wholly upon the Common Schools, absent themselves from the winter school, either permanently or occasionally, equal to a permanent absence of about one-third of their whole

number; and a portion absent themselves from the summer schools, either permanently or occasionally, equal to a permanent absence of considerably more than two-fifths of their whole number.

The average length of all the schools in the two hundred and ninety-four towns heard from is six months and twenty-five days each, for the whole year. Were the winter and summer terms equal in length, this average would give three months and twelve days and a half to each. But, on account of the voluntary absences from school, the winter term is reduced to the scholars, on an average, to about two months and one week, and the summer term to two months and an inconsiderable fraction; or, taking both winter and summer terms, to about four months and one week in the year. And so much as some scholars, dependent upon the Common School, actually attend school more, just so much do others actually attend less.

Were it certain that the number, *one hundred and seventy-seven thousand and fifty-three*, was not an over-estimate of the children between four and sixteen years of age, and did the returns embrace all the children of all ages attending in all the public schools, it would appear that forty-two thousand one hundred and sixty-four children, wholly dependent upon the Common Schools, have not, the past year, attended school at all in the summer; and twenty-three thousand two hundred and sixteen, neither in summer nor winter. There is some reason to believe, that from omissions in the returns, and, perhaps, from other causes, the total of the children of all ages, attending all the schools, is rather too low. After making every possible allowance, however, the returns exhibit frightful evidence of the number of children, who either do not go to school at all, or go so little as not to be reckoned among the scholars.

In this State, where the traditional habits and usages of the people exact some term of apprenticeship for all arts—except for the most difficult of all, the art of teaching—an intelligent and assiduous committee can do much, by way of counsel and sympathy, to encourage teachers, if not to capacitate them for the discharge of their delicate and arduous work. No person, fitted by Nature even for a temporary guardianship of the young, if not specially taught and skilled for his office, can remain in school a single week, without a deep consciousness of incapacity for interesting, guiding, and elevating the beings intrusted to his tutelage. In this condition of things, the committee are his only resource; and, if they also are incompetent to counsel and enlighten, accident and darkness must preside over the education of our youth.

Another important duty enjoined upon school committees is the visitation of the schools. Such visitations may be a moral incitement to the scholars, of great efficacy. Advice, encouragement, affectionate persuasion, coming from such of their townsmen as the children have been accustomed to regard with respect or veneration, will sink deep and remain long in their hearts. Wise counsel from acknowledged superiors makes a deep impress. It comes with the momentum of a heavy body, falling from a great height. The same counsel, if the same could be had, from men whom the children hold in no respect or esteem, might be remembered only to be ridiculed.

The visitations of the committee break in upon the monotony of the school. They spur the slothful, and reward the emulous and aspiring. To suppose that the children in a school will ever feel a keen, impulsive interest in learning, while parents and neighbors are disregarding of it, is to suppose the children to be wiser than the men. The stimulus of acting under the public eye, though an inferior motive, is still an allowable one amongst adults. To the mind of the sworn officer, is it not more pleasant than his oath? Do not much of the uprightness and thoroughness brought to the discharge of public duties depend upon their being performed under public inspection? And why, in regard to children, may we not avail ourselves of this innate sentiment as an auxiliary in the attainment of knowledge; always holding it subordinate to the supreme sentiment of duty? I have heard hundreds of teachers, with one voice, attest its utility. Such visitations by the committee are not less useful to teachers than to pupils. While all due respect should be accorded to teachers—and certainly no class in the community are more deserving both of emolument and of social consideration than they—yet, as our school-system is now administered, we are not authorized to anticipate any more fidelity and strenuousness in the fulfilment of duty from them than from the same number of persons engaged in any reputable employment. This State employs, annually, in the Common Schools, more than three thousand teachers, at an expense of more than *four hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars*, raised by direct taxation. But they have not one-thousandth part of the supervision which watches the same number of persons, having the care of cattle or spindles, or of the retail of shop-goods. Who would retain his reputation, not for prudence, but for sanity, if he employed men on his farm, or in his factory, or clerks in his counting-room, month after month, without oversight and even without inquiry? In regard to what other service are we so indifferent, where the remuneration swells to such an aggregate?

Being deeply impressed with these views, I inserted in the circular an interrogatory upon this subject; and wherever I have been, I have made constant inquiries whether this duty of visitation were performed, agreeably to law. I have heard from nearly all the towns in the State. The result is, that not in more than fifty or sixty towns, out of the three hundred and five, has there been any pretence of a compliance with the law; and in regard to some of these towns, after a reference to the requisitions of the statute, the allegation of a compliance has been withdrawn, as having been made in ignorance of the extent of its provisions.

It would be unjust to attribute the omission even of this important duty to any peculiar deadness or dormancy, on the part of committees, towards the great interest of our Common Schools. No body of men in the community have performed services for the public, at all comparable to theirs, for so little of the common inducements of honor and emolument. In not more than about one-fifth part of the towns do the committee receive either compensation or re-imbursement for devoting from six to sixty days of time to the duties of their office, and for incurring expenses of horse and carriage

hire, amounting to *ten* or *twenty*, and sometimes even to *thirty* dollars per annum. Where any thing is given, it rarely exceeds a quarter of the lowest wages of day labor. The towns paying most liberally, I believe, are Falmouth and Sandwich, in the county of Barnstable, where one dollar a day, and sixpence a mile for travel, are given. In a very few other towns, the compensation is fixed at seventy-five cents for each visit (understood to occupy a full half-day); in a few more, fifty cents a visit is paid; but in most other cases, it is a small fixed sum to be given to the chairman or the secretary of the committee, or to be divided between the members of the Board;—as in *Lincoln*, ten dollars to chairman; in *Haverhill* and *Hingham*, ten dollars to the clerk or secretary; in *East Hampton*, eight dollars for the whole Board; in *Cummington* and *Wareham*, five dollars for each member; in *Franklin*, three dollars for each; in *Williamsburg*, once, nine dollars for all, and so forth. To the inquiry, *Whether paid or not?* the letter of the answer in some cases, and, in many others, the spirit of it, has been, "*Neither paid nor thanked.*" In many cases, where gentlemen have served gratuitously in the office for several years, and have then presented a bill for expenses merely, they have been dropped from the board for the ensuing year: in others, where, after having served for years in succession, and, having been re-elected, they have offered to accept, on condition of receiving half as much as was allowed for working upon the highways, as a means of defraying their expenses, the offer has been rejected by a vote of the town, and the vacancy more cheaply filled. Neither does there seem to be any social consideration attached to the station. While the office of selectman and of representative to the general court is often an object of avidity, the more useful, responsible, and intrinsically honorable office of school-committee-man is shunned as thankless and burdensome. It is not to be disguised, that, in many places, it encounters opposition and reproach, just in proportion to the fidelity with which its obligations are observed. In many of the principal towns in the Commonwealth, committee-men have been chosen, year after year, by not more than ten or twenty votes; and, upon their declining, the vacancies have been filled by as small a number. In one town, containing three hundred voters, they were once chosen by three votes. In many places it is strikingly observable, that persons desirous of certain other offices are especially wary of this. In others, again, it has been necessary to resort to the expedient of electing persons not present at the meeting, in order that the office might be nominally filled. Other towns, again, have chosen them, in order to avoid the penalty of the law, and to obtain their distributive share of the school-fund, with an express understanding that they should discharge none of their duties, except making their return to the Secretary of State.

Dormancy and deadness, therefore, in regard to this plastic institution, now moulding and fashioning the beings upon whom all the interests of society are so soon to devolve, seem chargeable upon the people, who not only deny all remuneration for the loss of time, and even all re-imbursement for expenses incurred, but many of whom thwart and baffle the due admin-

istration of the office, and render the duties they impose onerous and unwelcome. Hence it often happens, that the citizens, best qualified for the station, decline its acceptance; or, having accepted it, they abridge its labors, and thereby curtail its usefulness. Clergymen allege, that their relation to the schools has been modified by recent legislation. Their parishes were once territorial, now they are poll; and thus the special relation they once sustained to all the schools within their territory is dissolved. Once they owed a special debt to society for their immunity from taxation; now that obligation is cancelled. From this or some other cause it has happened, that a public school, kept the whole twelve months, in a place where several clergymen were constantly resident, has never been visited by any of them for a succession of years. Public men and professional men decline the service on account of their various engagements. The industrious aver, that "time is money;" thus alleging a maxim, designed only to enforce a lower duty, as a justification for disregarding a higher; and forgetting that it is no more true that "time is money" than it is that "time is knowledge, or wisdom, or virtue," because it may be converted into the latter, as easily and certainly as into the former. But, I repeat, the fault is in the system, more than in the individuals. At every convention I have attended, from every intelligent individual with whom I have conversed, no opinion has been so universal and emphatic, as that our institution of Common Schools will continue to languish and cannot be revived, until wise boards of school-committee-men shall, themselves, be a living exposition of the law; and shall make all its provisions in regard to the "examination of teachers," the "selection" and "supply" of books, the "visitation" and "the regulation and discipline of the schools," and "the habits and proficiency of the scholars," as legible in their actions as on the pages of the statute-book.

The law exacts a performance of duty from other municipal officers, under the sanction of a penalty; because, as they receive something by way of fee or per diem allowance, they may well be held amenable for any official delinquency. But the framers of the law prescribing the duties of committee-men must have felt the flagrant injustice of denouncing any penalty for derelictions, when the demands upon time and money were so ample, and the requital nothing. Hence an entire abandonment of duty involves no forfeiture, and subjects to no animadversion. Such abandonment has occurred, and been tolerated and acquiesced in, if not demanded, by public sentiment. At one convention it was stated, openly and without contradiction, by a gentleman of high respectability, in the presence of his colleagues and others, who must have known the case, that in his town, containing about *forty* school districts, the school-committee, for eight or more successive years, had never examined a teacher, nor visited a school. During this long intermission of duty, the children in the public schools passed through *two-thirds* of the whole of their school-going life. Many other cases have come to my knowledge, calculated to excite the deepest alarm in every mind which sees the character of the next generation of men foreshadowed and prophesied in the direction which is given to the children of this.

I feel it my duty, therefore, to submit to the Board of Education the expediency of recommending to the general court, the appropriation of some portion of the income of the school-fund, when divided among the towns, as a compensation to school-committees for the discharge of duties so laborious and influential. Were this done, there would then be justice and propriety, certainly in cases of gross delinquency, in subjecting them to legal animadversion, or withholding from their respective towns their share of the annual apportionment. This course would relieve the towns from the burden of taxing themselves to pay the committee. The single fact of being obliged to render a written account to the town, of their services, at the end of each year, would prompt to punctuality and fidelity, and create another impulse to duty. It may be said, that, in some towns, the money would be paid without much valuable consideration in services rendered; but this, it is believed, would happen in but few cases, even at first, and would not be lastingly true anywhere. Such a provision might require some slight modification in the constitution of the board of town committees. Indeed, is it not worthy of consideration, whether some plan may not be adopted in distributing the income of the school-fund, which would assist towns or districts in purchasing apparatus or school libraries, or in doing some other thing for the benefit of the schools, which they cannot conveniently, or will not ordinarily, do without such assistance? The fund would then be a stimulant instead of an opiate.

Could the complement of service be secured from committees as well without compensation as with it, undoubtedly such unbought efforts would infuse into the system a quicker life and a higher energy; because work is always better done, just in proportion as it is done from a higher motive. But in this case, I am satisfied, that the only alternative presented us is, between a groping and dilatory performance, on the one hand, and such faithful, though not wholly disinterested efforts, on the other, as may be commanded for a moderate requital.

It is obvious, that neglectful school-committees, incompetent teachers, and an indifferent public, may go on degrading each other, until the noble system of free schools shall be abandoned by a people, so self-abased as to be unconscious of their abasement.

AN ORGANIZATION FOR SUPERINTENDENTS

"A going organization," wrote Ordway Tead, "arises out of a deliberate association of persons desiring to accomplish something together, to realize certain defined objectives, which as individuals the persons either could not do for themselves, or could not do as well." * The quotation seems particularly appropriate to the success of the National Association of School Superintendents, founded in 1865 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

* Ordway Tead, *The Art of Administration* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951), p. 7.

"There is properly no history, only biography," Emerson asserted, and the early history of the association for school superintendents bears out this assertion. Men like Henry Barnard, Horace Mann, W. T. Harris, John Hancock, and many others appear prominently in the association's history. These men shaped the resolutions which profoundly influenced educational policy in this country for more than a century.

The following excerpt from the official history of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) is primarily the story of those hardy, pioneer schoolmen who built a professional organization to represent superintendents. The complete story appeared initially in serial form in *The School Administrator*, official organ of the AASA. Entitled "The Centennial Story," it explains the slow and steady progress of an emerging profession in the face of bewildering, unprecedented social upheaval.

THE CENTENNIAL STORY

American Association of School Administrators

IN THE BEGINNING: 1865-1870

THE AMERICAN Association of School Administrators was born in the era of bitterness immediately following the War Between the States. In August 1865, barely four months after the assassination of President Lincoln, a handful of men meeting in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, decided to organize as the National Association of School Superintendents.

Five years later this group joined with others to form the National Educational Association; in the process it was renamed the Department of School Superintendence of the National Educational Association. In 1907 it became the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association. The Department changed its name again in 1937 to become the American Association of School Administrators, a department of the National Education Association of the United States.

The superintendents were in Harrisburg in 1865 to attend the annual meeting of the National Teachers' Association, which some of them had helped organize in 1857. Dates of the meeting were August 16-18.

SOURCE: From "The Centennial Story," condensed from a manuscript prepared for the American Association of School Administrators by Arthur H. Rice, Professor of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Reprinted by permission of the American Association of School Administrators.

The first convention of the new association of school superintendents was held in Washington, D.C., the following February. If you and I had been schoolmen in those days, we undoubtedly would have been readers of Henry Barnard's *American Journal of Education*. Let's read Barnard's account of this meeting, and take time to study the setting in which this event took place. The punctuation, capitalization, and use of italics in Barnard's report are retained:

During the sessions of the National Teachers' Association at Harrisburg for 1865, a meeting of State and City Superintendents there present as held, of which Rev. B. G. Northrop, Agent of the Massachusetts Board of Education, was Chairman, and Rev. L. Van Bokkelen, LL.D., State Superintendent of Public Schools of Maryland, was Secretary. At this Convention it was decided to hold a meeting in February, 1866, at Washington, for the purpose of forming a National Association of School Superintendents, to be composed of these devoted to the supervision of schools in the several States and Cities of the country, and the discussion of topics appropriate to such meeting.

A meeting was accordingly held on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of February, 1866, at which nine States and twenty Cities were represented. The Mayor of the city of Washington gave the Association a cordial welcome, and the President of the United States, on receiving their call, expressed great interest in their object, and in the extension of school instruction to every child in the country, and the Secretary of the Interior expressed to a committee on a memorial to Congress on a National Bureau, who waited upon him, his interest in the success of their memorial.

Papers were read by Charles R. Coburn, Superintendent of Common Schools of Pennsylvania, on "*School Statistics*," by L. Van Bokkelen, State Superintendent of Maryland, on "*The Practicability of Greater Uniformity in the School System of Different States*," by E. E. White, State Commissioner of Ohio, on "*A National Bureau of Education*," by C. M. Harrison, State Superintendent of New Jersey, on "*Defects of Our State System of Schools*," and by Newton Bateman, State Superintendent in Illinois, on the "*Leading Features of a Model State School System*." The subjects were thoroughly discussed and resolutions pertinent to the same were adopted, and several committees were appointed to report more in detail to the next meeting.

A committee consisting of Messrs. White of Ohio, Bateman of Illinois, and Adams of Vermont, were appointed to memorialize Congress on the establishment of a National Bureau of Education.

The following officers were elected for 1866-7: Birdsey Grant Northrop of Massachusetts, *President*; Charles R. Coburn of Pennsylvania, *Vice-President*; G. H. Hoss of Indiana, *Corresponding Secretary*; L. Van Bokkelen of Maryland, *Recording Secretary*; Duane Doty of Michigan, *Treasurer*.

The organization of the National Association of School Superintendents came at a time of much justifiable worry about the future of public education. Everywhere, school people were pondering the role of education in a period of reconstruction. They were worried—and not without reason—about where money could be found to get public education back on its feet after four years of wartime neglect. And there was deep concern about how free public education might be brought to the newly emancipated Negro.

In fact, it was this matter of getting public schools for the Negro under way in the South that led, first, to the campaigning for a federal bureau of education, and, soon thereafter, to repeated, insistent proposals for federal grants to help establish free universal public schools in the South.

One may wonder at the small attendance at that first convention in Washington, D.C.—“nine States and twenty Cities were represented”—until he realizes that actually this registration was really quite large in terms of cities eligible to attend. Only a small number of cities had created the office of city superintendent prior to that meeting. By 1861 only 25 cities had established the position, and only 10 of the 34 states had created the office of county superintendent. Apparently, no more city superintendencies were established during the Civil War. Furthermore, only three other cities, Albany, Washington, and Kansas City, were added to the list of 25 before 1870.

By contrast, according to the United States Office of Education, in October 1961 there were 12,486 local school systems with 300 or more pupils in the United States. It is estimated that there are nearly 15,000 chief school administrators of public schools in the country today.

Leadership Came from State Departments

It is no coincidence that the five main speakers at the first national convention of school superintendents were state school officers. State departments of education and their representatives were providing much of the leadership in public school administration at that time. The first state school officer had been appointed in New York in 1812. By 1861, 9 of the 34 states had ex-officio state school officers and 19 had regular state school officers.

It may help us put a frame around this era in the history of education if we locate some of the leaders whose names are still so well known. Henry Barnard (1811–1900) was nearing the zenith of his influence and was soon to become the first United States commissioner of education (1867–70). Horace Mann (1796–1859) had spent the final seven years of his life as the first president of Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio. Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906) was urging women teachers to campaign for higher wages and to demand a voice in teacher's conventions.

Pestalozzi (1746–1827), Froebel (1782–1852), and Herbart (1776–1841) were gone, but their philosophies were exerting more and more influence on teaching theories. Pestalozzi had advocated that children be taught to learn by experience and observation rather than verbalism. Froebel had stressed the appeal to the physical senses through the use of objects in teaching, and is hailed as the founder of the kindergarten. (Only a few private kindergartens had been founded in this country by 1865; the first public kindergarten appeared in 1873 in St. Louis, Missouri.) Herbart is remembered for his five formal steps of instruction.

McGuffey's *Eclectic Reader* (primer and readers for the first six grades) was becoming the most popular textbook this country has ever seen. By the end of the nineteenth century, well over 100 million copies were to be

sold. In 1865 William Holmes McGuffey (1800–73), the original author, was professor of natural history and moral philosophy at the University of Virginia, a post he had held since 1845.

By 1865 state school systems had been pulled into some semblance of unity. The elementary and primary schools were firmly established, but the public high school, or secondary school, was just coming into the picture. Private academies had long dominated secondary education. There were 6,000 of them in the United States at the height of their popularity in 1850. Public support of the high school was rare and difficult until the Kalamazoo Case in 1874, when the Michigan Supreme Court affirmed that the high school was properly a part of the common school system and therefore could be supported by taxes.

The National Association of School Superintendents was by no means the first national or seminational organization in which superintendents (from city, county, state, and college posts) were members and officers. However, it was the first nationwide group that limited its membership to the school administrator.

Even before the organization of the National Teachers' Association in 1857, school administrators (having various titles) had joined teachers and laymen in several national groups seeking to improve public education.

The first of these was the American Institute of Instruction, organized in Boston on August 19, 1830. Claiming to be national, it served primarily the schoolmen in and near Boston who could get to its meetings by stage-coach. Horace Mann and Samuel G. Howe attended frequently during those first years. As reported by Albert E. Winship, editor of the *Journal of Education*, the leadership of the institute shifted, gradually, from "classical men and educational statesmen" to teachers. In 1865 the institute's membership and officers were for the most part teachers in the Boston area. Later the scope and membership of the organization spread further, reaching as far as Montreal, and actively involving more superintendents.

Editor Winship and other writers implied that there were jealousy and competition between the institute and both the state teachers associations and the national organizations of teachers and superintendents. The institute was open to all. The other organizations were founded in the belief that the teaching profession should have its own exclusive associations. By 1865, 29 state teachers' organizations had been founded.

Two other important national education groups had risen and fallen. One was the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers, officially in existence from 1831 to 1845. Its membership included professors and teachers from colleges and high schools in Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

Another short-lived organization was the American Lyceum Association (1831–39), which had a broad program for the improvement of education. Will S. Monroe, of the State Normal School at Westfield, Massachusetts, wrote: "Practically all the educational interests of the United States were

represented in the American Lyceum Association during its nine years existence as a national organization. Out of the movement grew many library and lecture associations; keener interest in the education of girls; and the introduction of science studies into American courses of instruction."

"Friends of Education" Organize

Another national education group predating the AASA was founded at a convention of superintendents, teachers, and laymen on October 17-19, 1849, in Philadelphia. Horace Mann, then a member of Congress, was the presiding officer, and Henry Barnard was chairman of the business committee. This group was first identified as the National Association of the Friends of Education, and later as the Friends of Common Schools and of Universal Education. It adopted a permanent constitution in 1850 and became the American Association for the Advancement of Education. City and state superintendents and high school principals shared the speakers' platform with many representatives of higher education and prominent laymen at the first eight annual meetings of this group.

Much of its membership and strength was absorbed by the National Teachers' Association when it was organized in 1857. Without the first loyalty of the educators, the American Association for the Advancement of Education did not long survive. It convened for two more years, meeting in New York in 1857 and in Albany in 1858, and then disappeared. With its disappearance, there was no longer a single association that joined laymen and teachers in promoting the welfare of public education. The National Congress of Mothers, later named the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, came gradually to fill this gap after its founding in 1897.

Very little is known about some of the early meetings of the National Association of School Superintendents. In 1866, in addition to the February meeting in Washington, D.C., the superintendents' association held a meeting that summer with the National Teachers' Association and the American Normal School Association in Indianapolis. If the superintendents met the following year, they left no record.

For 1868 there is a clear record of a joint meeting with the American Normal School Association and the National Teachers' Association in Nashville. Total attendance seemed to be disappointing, although great plans had been made. In contrast to the 400 who had journeyed to Gettysburg during the National Teachers' Association meeting in Harrisburg in 1865, the record here tells of 50 who entrained for Mammoth Cave. Papers at this convention produced two notable and timely quotes. Dr. J. M. Gregory, of the Illinois Industrial University, discussing taxes for public education, said, "The poorest of all is the district tax; the best is the State tax."

And founder Van Bokkelen of Maryland said:

Each child has an equal claim on the State for the privileges of education, without reference to the locality of its birth, whether in the richest commercial metropolis, or on the sterile sands of the sea coast, or of the rugged mountain

slopes. When the child passes from the care of its parents and becomes a citizen, he will be either a blessing to the State by his careful and proper training in virtue and morality, or he will curse it with his ignorance.

Trenton, New Jersey, was the site of a very much better-attended joint meeting of the three associations in the summer of 1869.

The Last Meeting—A Gala Event

What turned out to be the last meeting of the National Association of School Superintendents, under that name, may well have been its best. It certainly was a gala event for the 27 members who spent three days at the special session on March 1-3, 1870, in Washington, D.C. They were received by President Ulysses S. Grant. They met with congressmen who joined them in a discussion of resolutions. And they paid only \$2 a day for accommodations, plus an assessment of \$1 to cover other convention expenses.

Among the lucky 27 were the superintendents from Baltimore, Cumberland County (Pennsylvania), Detroit, Dorchester County (Maryland), Pottsville (Pennsylvania), Springfield (Ohio), and Washington, D.C.; also Henry Barnard, then U. S. commissioner of education; the state superintendents or state commissioners of Indiana, Maine, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, and West Virginia; men by other titles from state boards of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Virginia; and representatives from a few colleges and universities and from the District of Columbia. Presiding was J. P. Wickersham, state superintendent of schools for Pennsylvania. Meetings were held in the Franklin School building (the board of education office today).

The reception by President Grant occurred on the second afternoon of the convention, Wednesday, March 2.

Federal Funds Asked for Education

The one big resolution adopted pertained to federal funds for public education. It was directed to the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States and read:

Your memorialists have had under consideration the interests of the white and colored population in those States in which a large proportion of the people are Freedmen, and whose educational funds are inadequate to meet the demands of an educational system, general in its application and objects.

We believe that no system of reconstruction will be complete that does not adequately provide for a general system of education.

The scientific, literary, civil, and religious institutions of a freed people cannot be secure without the restraints of virtue and the aid of general intelligence.

We would urge upon the consideration of your honorable bodies the necessity of such appropriations, from time to time, as may be necessary to keep in active operation the present system of schools inaugurated by the Freedmen's Bureau, and which have been of mutual service to both the white and colored population of the South.

In order that those States which have not sustained a general system of public

schools may be adequately supplied with efficient teachers, and have put into successful operation on the best methods, at an early day, schools for the liberal education of all classes, without regard to color or previous condition, we would also recommend the establishment and endowment of Normal schools—one in each State; giving Maryland and the District of Columbia jointly one.

We also believe that the true interests of the nation would be promoted by an adequate equalization of the educational funds of the States, so far as relates to the purpose of education, by the General Government.

We believe that the work of education among all classes in these States, whose funds are lost, would receive a new and wholesome impulse, that would vindicate the economy and wisdom of such appropriations.

The minutes of the meeting also report that, after the resolutions had been adopted and the congressmen had left, Dr. Henry Barnard, U. S. commissioner of education, was "called upon for his paper upon the establishment of the Department of Education. Dr. Barnard presented a verbal report of his work and plans, occupying one hour and a half."

A FAMILY AFFAIR: FORMING THE NEA

Our association has taken a very important step. Heretofore, there have been three different National Associations; the National Teachers' Association, the American Normal School Association and the National Superintendents' Association—three organizations working side by side, yet all independent. Now all are fused into one. . . .

These words, quoted in the 1870 *NTA Proceedings*, are from the closing address by D. B. Hagar, principal of the State Normal School at Salem, Massachusetts, and president of the National Teachers' Association, at the reorganization meeting of the NTA August 17–19, 1870, in Cleveland, Ohio. This was the same D. B. Hagar who had drawn up the call for the convention of teachers in Philadelphia that resulted in August 1857 in the formation of the National Teachers' Association. By happy coincidence he also presided at the last convention of this organization and at the birth of the National Educational Association.

In his opening address, President Hagar said:

To insure success in the proposed reorganization of the National Teachers' Association, it will, of course, be necessary to secure the co-operation of the National Superintendents' Association and the Normal School Association.—Blending the three associations into one, we can preserve the advantages of each, and at the same time establish on a broad foundation an organization grand in its proportions, comprehensive in its objects, and powerful in its operations.

In this spirit, the National Association of School Superintendents was merged with the newly named National Education Association and became one of its four charter departments, the Department of School Superintendence, now the AASA.

The American Normal School Association became the Department of

Normal Schools. This association was organized in August 1858 in Norwich, Connecticut, and had been meeting annually with the National Teachers' Association since 1866. The department evolved to become in 1948 the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

The two new groups were the Department of Elementary Schools, which was abolished in 1924 by the NEA Board of Directors, and the Department of Higher Instruction. The latter department was discontinued in 1924, was re-established in 1942, and in 1952 became the Association for Higher Education. Its predecessor was the Central College Association, organized in 1869 in Illinois as a federation of state and regional associations of college men.

This installment is entitled "A Family Affair" because the members of the Department of School Superintendence continued to play important roles as members of the NEA. A majority of the 43 signers of the original charter of the National Teachers' Association (August 26, 1857) were school administrators, and during the first 40 years of the superintendents' organization (1865-1905), 15 of its presidents also served, or were later to serve, as presidents of the National Educational Association.

No membership records are available for the Department of School Superintendence prior to 1922. This is probably because no membership dues were collected, and no separate records seem to have been kept. The first official records show a membership of 1,263 in 1922.

Evidence is rather conclusive that attendance at early conventions was very small. Probably no more than 50 attended the first convention of the National Association of School Superintendents in Washington in 1866. Thirty-eight years later, a total of 144 votes was cast on a very controversial motion at the Department meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, and it is likely that all the members present were voting.

The 15 men who served as president of both the superintendents' organization and of the NEA in those early years were typical of the rugged administrators who provided the educational leadership in this country during the nineteenth century. In spite of the physical hardships, financial woes, and severe handicaps educators suffered in those days, these men on the average lived their full Biblical threescore years and 10, and a few years beyond. Three of them were vigorous physically and mentally as octogenarians. Perhaps they were at peace with themselves and with the world because of their religious beliefs. Perhaps they came from an unusually vigorous stock. But whatever the reasons, they were men of great versatility, of wide scope in their interests, and of unflagging energy.

These 15 presidents are introduced here in the order in which they served the superintendents' organization as president.

BIRDSEY GRANT NORTHROP, the first president of the National Association of School Superintendents, was a clergyman for 10 years prior to his public service as an educator. At the time he was chosen chairman of the superintendents' organization committee in August 1865, he was the agent of the Massachusetts Board of Education. The following winter he was

elected president of the National Association of School Superintendents at its first convention in February 1866 in Washington, D.C. Just previously he had been president of the American Institute of Instruction. Seven years later, in 1873, he was president of the NEA.

The Reverend Northrop was a native of Connecticut, born in Kent, in Litchfield County, on July 18, 1817. He was graduated from Yale in 1841, and from Yale Theological Seminary four years later. During these years he taught school for several terms. For 10 years he was pastor of the Congregational Church at Saxonville, Massachusetts. He served as the agent for the Massachusetts Board of Education from 1857 to 1867. He then went back to Connecticut to become secretary of the State Board of Education there, and was Connecticut's chief educational leader for nearly 16 years. Thereafter he had many busy years in civic improvement efforts and the building of international good will, up to the close of his life. He died at 80, in 1898.

His biography in the 1898 *NEA Proceedings* states that to Dr. Northrop more than to any other man belonged the credit for the wide adoption of Arbor Day. His interest in tree planting was partly responsible for his visit in 1877 to Europe, where he studied the reclaiming of waste land by tree planting. Upon his return, he wrote the book *Forestry in Europe*. His interest in Japan, especially its educational needs, led to his visit in 1895 (at the age of 78), as a guest of that nation. During the last 14 years of his life, he visited more than 40 states and territories to organize "village-improvement societies." He was the author of many publications, including a treatise on "Schools and Communism."

Brief biographical data on the remaining 14 dual presidents follow.

EMERSON ELBRIDGE WHITE (1829-1902) President, National Association of School Superintendents, 1868; National Educational Association, 1872. Born in Mantua, Ohio. Superintendent of schools, Portsmouth, Ohio (1856-61). Owner and editor of *Ohio Educational Monthly* (1861-74); was state commissioner of education during three years of this period. President, Purdue University (1876-83). Superintendent of schools, Cincinnati, Ohio (1887-90). Author of several textbooks. Drafted the bill for the establishment of the federal Bureau of Education. Spent his later years in Columbus, Ohio, in a home given him by John D. Rockefeller, one of his pupils, "in grateful remembrance of the teacher who know how to manage a mischievous boy."

JOHN W. BULKLEY (1802-88) President, National Association of School Superintendents, 1869; National Teachers' Association, 1860. Born in Fairfield, Connecticut. Studied for the ministry but found his career in education. Was first president of the New York State Teachers Association (1845), which he had helped organize and which gave birth to the first teachers' journal in the United States. First city superintendent of the combined schools of Brooklyn and Williamsburgh, New York (1855-73); remained as assistant superintendent until 1885.

JAMES P. WICKERSHAM (1825-91) President, National Associa-

tion, of School Superintendents, 1870; NEA Department of School Superintendence, 1879; National Teachers' Association, 1866. Born in Newlin Township, Pennsylvania. Was teaching at age 15; by 20, was principal of Marietta Academy in Pennsylvania. Established state normal school in Millersville, Pennsylvania. Helped found Pennsylvania Education Association (1852). Served as Pennsylvania state superintendent of schools (1866-80). From 1870 until his retirement from the state superintendency, was editor and part owner of the *Pennsylvania School Journal*. His books on methods of instruction were translated into French, Spanish, and Japanese as standard guides in education. Toward the close of his life, he spent a short time as U. S. minister to Denmark.

JOHN HANCOCK (1825-91) President, NEA Department of School Superintendence, 1872; National Educational Association, 1878 and 1879. Born in Point Pleasant, Ohio. Superintendent of schools, Cincinnati, Ohio (1865-71); Dayton, Ohio (1872-86); Chillicothe, Ohio (1886-88). Appointed state commissioner of Ohio schools in 1888 and continued in that post until his death.

WILLIAM TORREY HARRIS (1835-1909) President, NEA Department of School Superintendence, 1873; National Educational Association, 1875. Born in North Killingly, Connecticut. Moved to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1857 to teach in the public schools, moved up to the superintendency in 1867, resigned in 1880 to become identified with the Concord school of philosophy. Appointed U. S. commissioner of education in 1889, continued in that office until 1906.

JAMES ORMOND WILSON (1825-1911) President, NEA Department of School Superintendence, 1875; National Educational Association, 1880. Born in Royalston, Massachusetts. At age 23 moved to Washington, D.C., where he conducted a private school for two years, after which he worked as a U. S. Treasury Department employee for 19 years. During this period he studied law and was admitted to the bar. Trustee, District of Columbia Schools (1862-70); superintendent of schools, Washington, D.C. (1870-85).

M. ALEXANDER NEWELL (1824-93) President, NEA Department of School Superintendence, 1880; National Educational Association, 1877. Born in Belfast, Ireland. Taught two years in Liverpool, then moved to Baltimore, Maryland. Professor, City College, Baltimore; Madison College, Uniontown, Pennsylvania. Established business college in Baltimore. Grammar school principal, Baltimore. Comanager, Newell Institute. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Elected principal of Maryland State Normal School in 1865, retaining that position after being appointed secretary to the State Board of Education and superintendent of public instruction of Maryland in 1868. Served for 25 years as head of Maryland's educational system.

ALBERT PRESCOTT MARBLE (1836-1906) President, NEA Department of School Superintendence, 1881; National Educational Association, 1889. Born in Vassalboro, Maine. Principal, Boynton High School, Eastport, Maine; Berkshire Family School, Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Professor of

mathematics, Wayland University, Beaver Dam, Wisconsin. Principal, Worcester Academy, Worcester, Massachusetts. Superintendent of schools, Worcester (1868-94); Omaha, Nebraska (1895). In 1896 was appointed to the Board of Superintendents for the New York City Schools and later became chairman of the board's Committee on High Schools. Was one of the early leaders in efforts to improve schoolhouse construction and sanitation.

NORMAN A. CALKINS (1822-95) President, NEA Department of School Superintendence, 1883; National Educational Association, 1886. Born in Gainesville, New York. Principal, Central School, Gainesville; became superintendent of Gainesville Schools at age 23. In 1862 was elected assistant superintendent of New York City Schools and was successively re-elected until his death. Also held teaching positions in New York City Normal College and was author of several books. His obituary states: "For upwards of 30 years he was a conspicuous member of the Congregational Society. He managed the finances of that organization with such consummate skill that hundreds of struggling congregations in the South and West were organized into permanent churches."

NEWTON C. DOUGHERTY President, NEA Department of School Superintendence, 1888; National Educational Association, 1896. Born in 1847 in Chester County, Pennsylvania. In 1869 became principal of Rock River Seminary in Illinois; served as superintendent of schools in Peoria, Illinois, from 1878 until 1905.

WILLIAM HENRY MAXWELL (1852-1920) President, NEA Department of School Superintendence, 1895; National Educational Association, 1905. Born in Stewartstown, Ireland. Came to United States in 1874, worked on a newspaper and taught in evening schools in Brooklyn, New York, until 1882. Assistant superintendent of schools, Brooklyn (1882-87); superintendent (1887-98). First superintendent of schools of Greater New York (1898-1918); in that position, he developed many of the policies and procedures of modern school administration.

NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER (1849-1919) President, NEA Department of School Superintendence, 1898; National Educational Association, 1906 and 1907. Born in Maxatawny, Pennsylvania. Minister in German Reformed Church. Graduate of and professor at Franklin and Marshall College in Pennsylvania. Studied at leading universities in Germany. Principal, Keystone State Normal School in Pennsylvania (1877-93). Pennsylvania state superintendent of public instruction (1893-1919).

LORENZO DOW HARVEY (1848-1922) President, NEA Department of School Superintendence, 1901; National Education Association, 1909. Born in Dover, New Hampshire. His parents moved to Wisconsin when he was 2 years old. Superintendent of schools, Sheboygan, Wisconsin (1875-85); professor of political economy, State Normal School, Oshkosh, Wisconsin; president, State Normal School, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Wisconsin state superintendent of schools (1898-1902); superintendent of schools, Menomonie, Wisconsin (1903-1908); president, Stout Institute, Menomonie

(1908-22). Recognized as one of the national leaders in the movement for industrial education.

EDWIN G. COOLEY (1857-1923) President, NEA Department of School Superintendence, 1905; National Education Association, 1908. Born in Strawberry Point, Iowa. Principal in Iowa and Illinois; superintendent of schools, Cresco, Iowa; superintendent of schools, Chicago, Illinois (1899-1908). Later was director of Chicago continuation schools. Credited with transfer of initiative from school board to administrator for selection of teachers and instructional materials.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE EARLY DAYS

During its first half century, the NEA Department of School Superintendence was little more than a series of conventions. It had no paid staff, no headquarters, no membership dues. To summarize the many hundreds of speeches at these meetings would be impossible, although many of them can be found in the *NEA Proceedings*. However, a record of what these early superintendents believed can be found in the resolution they adopted. This installment of "The Centennial Story" is drawn from the records of those resolutions up to 1920.

The first meeting of the superintendents' organization after it became an NEA department in 1870 took place August 22-24, 1871, in St. Louis. Apparently no resolutions were adopted, but one was referred to a committee which would present its recommendations at the next meeting. Upon a favorable committee report in 1872, the resolution was adopted. The school rarely knew whether a child was absent because he was sick, dropping out, or playing hooky. To help standardize practice, the resolution suggested that in all cases of absence, a pupil's name should be kept on the roll as "belonging" for three whole days and should be dropped if he had not returned on the seventh day.

In 1877 the superintendents resolved: "We earnestly recommend that Congress devise some appropriate constitutional means for aiding pecuniarily in the educational work, especially in those sections of the country that are surrounded by difficulties arising from ignorance and prejudice, and that such pecuniary aid should be distributed *pro rata* on the basis of the illiteracy of the several States."

The superintendents reminded Congress in 1880 of the "immediate and pressing need of Federal aid in the States, and especially to the Southern States. . . ." Congress was urged also to provide liberally for the public schools in the District of Columbia so that its schools might "serve the country as models of what the best schools ought to be. . . ."

At the meetings in 1882 and 1884, resolutions were passed asking for federal funds for education in Alaska. "The native population of Alaska have alone of all sections of our common country been overlooked in educational provisions," said the 1882 statement. Again in 1884 the Department pleaded that Congress should provide for public education in Alaska.

"In Proportion to Illiteracy"

In 1883 the organization asked that direct appropriations from the national treasury "be made to the several States in proportion to illiteracy, and distributed under proper conditions and safeguards, through existing local officers."

Expressing a concern that is still familiar, the Department in 1885 appointed a committee "to consider the possibility of securing uniformity among the different States in the compilation and presentation of educational statistics. . . ."

The resignation in 1886 of John Eaton as U.S. commissioner of education after nearly 17 years in that post, occasioned a resolution that year that tells us something of those days. It read, in part: "He has conferred honor on American institutions by his promotion and practical organization of our educational exhibits at the world's fairs in Vienna (1873), Philadelphia (1876), Paris (1878), New Orleans (1884). . . . By the special encouragement, early and wisely given, to the introduction of kindergärten, cookery schools, schools for nurses, technical schools, and art instruction, he has greatly contributed to the development of a complete educational system. . . ."

"Four-fifths or more of the teachers in the rural district schools of almost, if not all, the States are mere apprentices in the business of teaching," was asserted in one long resolution of 1887. It offered many ways in which the examination of prospective rural teachers could be improved and higher standards obtained. Another resolution expressed the view that "the profession of teaching should fix its own standard independent of the State. . . ."

The superintendents that year also looked "with favor upon the disposition of some of the colleges and universities to recognize public school work as a profession" and expressed appreciation of "what has been done towards establishing chairs of pedagogy in a few of them."

A Flag over Every School

A resolution from 1890 read: "We heartily commend recent efforts, made in many sections of the country, to place over every school-house the American flag; and also recommend the study of the Declaration of Independence, and of other great historical documents of American civil liberty, in the public schools, as a means of stimulating true patriotism and of promoting enlightened citizenship."

They had trouble in those days, too, with the fellow who asks a question in a discussion group and then proceeds to make a long speech. In 1891 the superintendents ruled that "each speaker who participates in the discussion of any topic on the programme shall be limited to five minutes, unless further time be granted by the Department."

They also said, "We are opposed to State publication of school-books," and maintained that "justice, as well as the best public service, requires the

retirement and pensioning of teachers after a service of thirty years, and upon carefully devised conditions."

The kindergarten movement received strong support in 1892. The superintendents testified that "the Kindergarten has unquestionably passed the experimental stage, is not only entirely practicable in connection with the Common Schools, but will greatly promote their efficiency and greatly facilitate their work in preparing parents and children alike for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship."

Two years later the group recommended "to the individual States the enactment of laws permitting the school authorities to introduce the kindergarten as a part of the public school system, and to the normal schools the establishment of kindergarten classes in connection with their work."

Also in 1894 the Department resolved: "Inasmuch as education depends primarily upon the play of mind upon mind and soul upon soul, we urge more extensive and careful preparation of those intending to teach, as well as the improvement of the teachers now in the schools, as the first condition of enriching the courses of study in all grades of the schools."

Oliver Wendell Holmes was an honored guest at the 1893 meeting in Boston. The superintendents formally thanked him "for granting the rare privilege of meeting and hearing him. . . ."

In 1895 the superintendents pledged their utmost efforts toward these goals: (1) "The public schools should be absolutely free from the domination of those who would prostitute them to political or personal ends." (2) "The management of the schools should be in the hands of educational experts clothed with adequate power, protected in their tenure of office, and held responsible for results."

As before, and often again, the resolutions at the Jacksonville, Florida, meeting in 1896 expressed appreciation to the various railroad lines for "the courtesies extended by the granting of reduced rates, which have facilitated a large attendance." From the very beginning of the Association back in 1865, attendance would have been very slim indeed had it not been for those reduced railroad rates (usually one-half regular fare). Transportation involving any distance in those days was available only by means of railroad, or more rarely by boat or stagecoach. The railroads often offered special tours or sideline trips at little or no extra cost.

Resolutions adopted year after year showed satisfaction with the U.S. commissioner of education and his staff. Typical is a resolution from the 1897 meeting in Indianapolis. It read: "The department views with great satisfaction the increasing efficiency and widening influence of the National Bureau of Education, and believes that public opinion will sustain Congress in any action looking to the placement of this bureau on a level with other bureaus of the Department of the Interior."

Manual Training Achieves Dignity

In Chicago in 1901 the Department urged "centralization of rural schools and the transportation of pupils at public expense. . . ." It proclaimed

that manual training in the public schools "has ceased to be presented as a sensational element of a fragmentary and one-sided training for special industries, and has taken its place as an essential part of the education of a free people. . . ."

Meeting again in Chicago in 1902, the superintendents ruled that "all speakers discussing a paper shall speak without manuscript," "women should be represented on the general program," and the programs should "make more ample provision for 'round-table conferences.'"

Would-be orators were reminded again in 1903 that anyone discussing a paper must "speak without manuscript."

At Louisville in 1906, it was requested that future programs "be devoted to a discussion of the duties and responsibilities of school administration, management, supervision, and organization." Another resolution decried "the pernicious influence upon our youth of the fraternities and sororities now found in some of our secondary schools." The superintendents went on to say that "these undemocratic organizations threaten to change the entire character of the public high school, and must be controlled or abolished."

The Department resolved in 1907: "We urge upon all law-making bodies and upon all boards of education the necessity of making every effort possible to remove from all children the temptation to form the habit of cigarette smoking; and to use all the means in their power to discourage a habit which lowers character and undermines the foundations of citizenship."

Vocational education got top billing in the resolutions adopted in Washington in 1908. One resolution advocated "the close adjustment of school studies to the demands of life. The fitting of the child for a life of industry in shop, farm, or home ranks next in importance to the building of character, the cultivation of intelligence, and, subordinate and contributive to these, the training of the hand, which are the chief aims of education." Especially urged were "the study of agricultural subjects in the schools of the rural districts" and "the granting of federal aid to the state normal schools for the training of teachers in the subjects of agriculture, manual training, and home economics."

This was not the first nor the last resolution on vocational education. The first resolution on the importance of manual training came in 1901. In 1913 industrial, agricultural, and vocational training was lauded. In 1914 the recommendation was added that continuation schools be established "for boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years who have entered vocational life" and that attendance "be made compulsory for such boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and sixteen."

A Plea for "Emigrants"

Two other 1908 resolutions were noteworthy. One was a belief that "in the large cities provision should be made, by the opening of special ungraded rooms, for the instruction of children of emigrants unable to speak English." The other was a plea for "evening schools to instruct adult emigrants in the English language and the duties of citizenship."

The Department took a firm stand on the issue of separation of church and state in Indianapolis in 1910. It placed itself on record "as disapproving any appropriations made by either legislatures or Congress for any institution which is not supported exclusively by public funds and which is not subject to complete federal or state control and investigation." This stand has been reasserted repeatedly.

In 1911 in Mobile, the Department approved "of the use of school buildings as community centers" and recognized "in this movement a socializing force of immense significance." Again in 1913 the superintendents advocated "the wider use of the school plant for educational, social, and civic purposes up to the point of diminishing returns."

A Comment on Surveys

At the 1912 meeting in St. Louis, one resolution concerned individuals and groups who attempted to use surveys and investigations as means of publicity, propaganda, or attack upon the superintendent or the board. The statement read: "Members of this Department . . . welcome and encourage all fair and candid investigation thru commissions or other agencies into the soundness and effectiveness of the policies and methods used and the results obtained, but . . . we condemn and resent all such investigations whose obvious purposes are to debase the systems or exalt the investigators."

This was still a problem of great concern when the group met in Philadelphia in 1913. The resolution was worded: "We recommend expert surveys and investigations of school systems as helpful and valuable, when made by broad-minded, constructive committees, inspired by right educational motives, working under properly constituted authority, and wholly free from commercialism."

Partisan politics in the supervision and management of rural schools was also a worry in 1913. The Department urged "supervision by expert, non-political county or district superintendents appointed by non-political educational boards or commissions."

Another resolution read: "We hold the logical and sane education for the American girl of the twentieth century to be fully as important as is that for the twentieth-century boy, and believe that the making of courses of study to meet her special needs is of sufficient importance to enlist the best thought and effort of the most earnest and efficient school men and women of our day."

A resolution on sex education, passed at the 1914 meeting in Richmond, Virginia, said: "We recognize fully the importance of the proper teaching of sex hygiene, but . . . we believe the ideal place for giving such instruction to be the home . . . we believe the school should be willing and anxious to help the home in this matter as best it can. If instruction in sex hygiene is to be given in the schools, it should be given by teachers specially qualified for the work."

The question of outside surveys was discussed again in Cincinnati in 1915. Said the Department: "The constant investigation of school problems by

permanent school officers is far more effective than any other form of scientific study. . . . The superintendent or the board of education should be in a position at any time to call in impartial professional advisers in case they find that school interests require such special discussion. Professional aid from without will, however, be for the most part unnecessary if the regular supervisory staff, together with the teachers, has been active in constant studies of the types which can be carried on by the permanent bureau of efficiency."

Child Labor an Issue

The need for regular systematic inservice training for teachers was emphasized also. "Institutes and sporadic lectures do not adequately meet this need," the superintendents said. Protection of school children from undesirable employment was demanded at this meeting and again the following year in Detroit.

It was in 1916 that the first reference was made to the war in Europe. World War I had started July 28, 1914. Woodrow Wilson was being hailed for keeping us out of the war. There was great agitation for compulsory military training in high schools. The Department emphatically opposed such training "before mature consideration of the educational questions involved therein." A committee was authorized to study "the proper place for and purpose of military education of American youth. . . ."

Toward the close of February 1917, little more than a month before this country entered the war (April 6, 1917), the Department met in Kansas City, Missouri. "Solemnly and unitedly," the superintendents declared "confidence in, and our loyalty to, the President of the Republic—Woodrow Wilson—in his supreme effort to maintain the dignity and honor of our nation." Similar confidence was expressed when the Department met in 1918 in Atlantic City, New Jersey. The Department endorsed "the war aims and the altruistic motives of the United States as expressed by President Woodrow Wilson," and pledged him "heartily and loyal support in prosecuting this war to a decisive and complete victory, and to a full realization of the lofty democratic ideals which he has so clearly and eloquently presented to the world."

When the Department convened in Chicago in 1919, the Armistice had been signed. "The American public schools have met the test of the war," declared the superintendents. "In the crisis of war the schools were a mighty agency for victory. . . . Patriotic instruction in the schools was a most powerful instrument in bringing the people to a full realization of their world responsibilities, and it was especially potent in guaranteeing the loyalty of millions of our immigrant population."

This convention also asked for "the immediate creation of a Department of Education with a Secretary who shall be a member of the President's cabinet."

Following the war, the shortage of experienced teachers created a crisis. A 1919 resolution reported that "more than half of the children of the

United States are under the instruction of teachers inadequately trained and but temporarily in the profession." The superintendents insisted that a minimum of two years' professional training be required beyond high school for any teacher and that "the minimum salary of any teacher of any grade be not less than \$1000."

Another resolution emphasized physical training for all youth, "in view of the fact that 30 per cent of those examined for military or naval service in the late war were found to be physically unfit. . . ."

The current method of nominating and electing AASA officers had its beginning in a resolution adopted in Cleveland in 1920. The convention agreed that there should be a method by which all members might participate in the nomination of candidates for office. It ruled that any active member could send in his nomination of candidates. Printed ballots would list all these nominations and the membership would vote thereon at the annual meeting of the Department.

End of an Era

This Cleveland meeting started the close of the long period when the Department's affairs were almost entirely in the hands of members busy in their own jobs, supplemented since 1898 by the slowly growing contribution of the NEA's secretariat.

SAILING WITH A NAVIGATOR

During the 25-year period, 1921-46, one figure stands out in the history of the AASA. That is Sherwood Dodge Shankland, the first executive secretary of the NEA Department of Superintendence. He is credited with having established the foundations for the autonomous organization that the AASA is today. During the quarter century under his leadership—

- The membership of the Association increased from 1,263 in 1922 to more than 4,000 in 1930 and to approximately 6,000 by 1946.
- The organization stayed solvent during the big Depression years, partly because of personal sacrifices by Mr. Shankland and his staff and associates.
- The yearbook was published first in 1923 and annually thereafter through those 25 years.
- *The School Administrator*, official news publication of the Association, was started in 1943 and has been published continuously since.
- The Educational Research Service was established as a joint project with the NEA Research Division in 1924.
- The Permanent Educational Research Fund was started in 1929.
- The educational exhibits at the convention were greatly expanded, and became an important source of revenue, as well as a focus of interest.
- The Educational Policies Commission came into being in 1935.
- Twenty-one annual national conventions and nine wartime regional conventions were held.

For 13 years (1909-22), S. D. Shankland was director of the Andrews

Institute for Girls, an endowed vocational school located in his hometown of Willoughby, Ohio, just northeast of Cleveland.

Like many school administrators, he found time also for church, Boy Scouts, lodge, community funds, and politics. He served as president of the local school board and as a local councilman. He was a member of the Ohio state legislature from 1906 to 1911 and was chairman of its Committee on Common Schools for two years. He knew the worries and problems of the public school administrator, for he had served as superintendent of the schools in Willoughby for 13 years (1896-1909). After graduation from Western Reserve University in Cleveland in 1894, he had spent two years as science teacher and then principal for the Willoughby High School before entering the superintendency.

It was from his administrative post as director of the Andrews Institute for Girls that Mr. Shankland came to the newly established position of executive secretary of the Department of Superintendence.

On July 4, 1921, during the NEA convention in Des Moines, the Department's Executive Committee met and appointed S. D. Shankland secretary. The minutes read: "The president reported that by correspondence the committee had selected Mr. S. D. Shankland to act as secretary for the current year."

The influence of the new secretary can be read between the lines of a paragraph appearing in the minutes of the Executive Committee for December 9 of that year. It reads: "The secretary was authorized to mail form letters to all superintendents in the United States, advising them that a membership fee of \$5.00 had been tentatively decided upon, and inviting them to remit before the convention." Previously, there were no dues for the Department.

This led to the next step, recorded in the minutes of the Executive Committee for the March 2, 1922, meeting at the Department's convention in Chicago. The record states: "On motion of Mr. Cody an honorarium of \$500 was voted to the secretary for services in connection with this convention. Mr. Beveridge moved that Mr. S. D. Shankland be employed as full-time secretary of the Department at a salary of \$6,000 per year, to begin July 1, 1922. The motion was seconded and unanimously carried."

Another significant paragraph reads: "On motion of Mr. Newlon the president and secretary were authorized to negotiate with the N.E.A. with a view to securing a larger appropriation for the Department."

By September of that year, 1922, Mr. Shankland had established headquarters for the Department in the NEA building in Washington, D.C. At that time he was 48 years old (born April 6, 1874).

On July 4, 1922, in Boston, the secretary submitted a budget for 1923, "showing the estimated expenditures \$14,400 and the estimated income, \$14,748.34." (Forty years later the AASA budget read: Income, \$494,550; Expenditures, \$499,215. This did not include \$75,461 from the Kellogg Foundation for the Committee for the Advancement of School Administration.)

Some significant "beginnings" are noted in the minutes of the Executive

Committee for May 19, 1923. The executive secretary was directed to prepare an outline of procedures to establish an "educational research service" as proposed by discussion from the floor at the Cleveland convention earlier in the year. It also authorized that "necessary steps be taken to issue a quarterly publication, to be known as the Quarterly of the Department of Superintendence. . . ."

At this same meeting, the committee put into effect a resolution from the Cleveland meeting that authorized a Commission on the Curriculum, and "the Committee on Yearbook was requested to consider the desirability of securing and publishing such articles as will present the best practice on the curriculum." At the next meeting in Chicago, on February 24, 1924, the Executive Committee decided that the *Research Bulletin* of the NEA should be substituted for the proposed quarterly.

Conflicting Interests

Too many conflicting interests at the annual conventions were a perennial problem discussed by the Executive Committee at its meeting April 25, 1925, in Detroit. The officers instructed the executive secretary to "negotiate with officers of the fourteen groups already having an allied relationship with a view to reducing the number of their meetings and, if possible, arranging with one or more of them for holding their conventions at some other time and place. No meetings of allied groups are to be scheduled at such time as to conflict with general sessions of the Department of Superintendence."

Some insight into the Department's financial situation is provided by minutes of the Executive Committee for April 13, 1928. The budget for 1923 was \$14,748.34; five years later it had increased 281 percent. The budget for 1928 provided "that the income from current memberships be based at \$15,500; that the income from sale of Yearbooks be based at \$8,500; that the income from the Educational Research Service be based at \$6,000. . . ." Total estimated income was \$41,500.

The authorized expenditures of \$41,500 included "the salary of the Executive Secretary at \$7,500; printing of the Yearbook at \$8,400; printing of the *Research Bulletin* at \$1,300; and Executive Committee expense at \$800. . . ."

An Unofficial Report

There is no better source of information about the S. D. Shankland era than a bulletin published unofficially by the Research Division of the NEA in 1946. It was prepared by 19 of his friends and associates. Let's pick up the story where reference has just been made to the fact that at the meeting of the National Association of School Superintendents in March 1870 in Washington, D.C., "Comfortable quarters had been secured for thirty or forty delegates, at \$2.00 per day, in the immediate vicinity."

The *Research Bulletin* continues:

"What a transformation had been wrought by 1930, when the Department

observed its Sixtieth Anniversary! By that time Sherwood D. Shankland had been managing the conventions for nearly a decade. A 64-page program gave a directory of meetings, a map of Atlantic City, and details of meetings for the Department and the fourteen allied organizations but not for the 'camp followers' [uninvited groups who met at the time of the convention] who came 'without the courtesy of an invitation.' Even those humble ones were mentioned among the seventy-one 'Breakfasts, Luncheons, Dinners' and the thirty-three 'Notes and Announcements.' Here also was a list of 248 convention exhibitors, and an index of 468 names listed in the program. . . .

"Instead of housing for thirty or forty, the hotels provided 5850 rooms. . . .

"At general sessions speeches were heard from such well-remembered names as Charles H. Elliott, William John Cooper, Charles H. Judd, John H. Logan, J. B. Edmonson, N. L. Engelhardt, Charles B. Glenn, Frank W. Ballou, Francis G. Blair, Ray Lyman Wilbur, Henry Suzzallo, Albert S. Cook, and Walter A. Jessup. Industry and public affairs were represented by Ruth Bryan Owen, Frank B. Jewett, Charles F. Kettering, and John H. Finley. Joseph E. Maddy and Walter Damrosch conducted the National High School Orchestra, resplendent with ten golden harps. 'The Pageant of Time' was presented Tuesday evening—twenty-five hundred teachers and students on the stage, plus band, orchestra, and five hundred singers.

"There were a few new names and new faces on the general session programs, such as Edith B. Joynes and Alexander J. Stoddard, while the 'Discussion Groups' combined dozens of veterans with a few neophytes. . . .

"Of those twenty conventions from 1923 to 1942, with S. D. Shankland as executive secretary, which was the best? Perhaps he got the biggest thrill out of the first one he planned—the 1923 convention at Cleveland. Henry Turner Bailey spoke on leisure time, and Newton D. Baker gave his views on education. . . .

"At Washington in 1926, President Calvin Coolidge spoke on Monday evening and Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover on Thursday. . . . It was at Detroit in 1931 that volumes of letters from school children were presented to Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, who told of his recent trip to the South Pole. Charles H. Judd and Jesse H. Newlon gave their respective opinions on 'The Articulation of the Units of American Education.' Later in the week the convention goers went square dancing to the music of Henry Ford's old-fashioned fiddlers. . . .

"Three times in the 1930's the Department's membership enjoyed a meal together, and each time it was a gala, spectacular event. At Cleveland it was a banquet . . . at Atlantic City it was a Friendship Dinner . . . followed by a dazzling ice carnival. But at fabulous New Orleans in 1937, it was a Creole breakfast under the old Dueling Oaks, with the entire convention as guests of Superintendent Nicholas Bauer and his co-workers. . . .

"Pageantry has been a feature of many meetings. St. Louis in 1940 had two such features—'Musica Americana,' and 'On Our Way'. . . .

"Conventions went to war after the great 1942 meeting in San Francisco.

Regional conferences in 1944 and 1946 provided a new pattern in peripatetic conventioning. . . .

"One important feature of those twenty conventions was S. D. Shankland himself. He always shared a hotel room with Harold A. Allan, who managed the convention exhibit. They kept their worries, if any, strictly to themselves, presenting a united front of cheerful stability."

Historic Battlegrounds

Some historic battlegrounds which marked the trail from 1922 to 1946 are identified by the *Research Bulletin* as follows:

- The Commission on the Curriculum, which "met and conquered the forces of traditionalism in thousands of American classrooms in the period from 1922 to 1928."
- The Committee on Lay Relations, which "began in 1928 a campaign of peaceful penetration into the strongholds of misguided self-interest."
- The Commission on School Costs, which "fought a running battle with stock market hysteria from 1931 to 1933. . . ."
- The Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education. From its recommendations came the Educational Policies Commission.
- The Committee on the Certification of Superintendents of Schools, which "made a telling assault from 1937 to 1939 on political and personal favoritism as the bases for superintendents' appointments and secured for the profession a new and higher vantage point."

The *Research Bulletin* says also:

"Much should be said of the Department's joint enterprises with the Commission on Teacher Education, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Conference for Cooperation in School Health Education, the National Association of School Boards, and numerous other allies. . . .

"But something which *must* be pointed out is the tireless energy of General Shankland which drove him on in Stonewall Jackson style. . . . What the Department has achieved, with Chief of Staff Shankland in command, leaves the superintendents of America with no alternative. They must press forward, saying confidently 'We have just begun to fight.' "

The New Orleans convention in 1937 was a great one, made memorable not only by the Creole breakfast, but by two other important actions. One was a detailed study and evaluation of convention programs and activities, made by a blue-ribbon committee, which did much to guide all later national meetings. It set the pattern for a regular careful evaluation which involves scores of observers at each convention.

A Change in Name

The second major action was the adoption of a new name for the Department. No one seemed to want to cut all ties with the NEA, yet most members felt that the strength and independence of the Department were not defined well in its title, the Department of Superintendence. The Executive Committee brought to the convention in 1936 a careful report by a special committee,

that it endorsed in all important particulars. By vote of the members of the Department in 1937, the Department became the American Association of School Administrators, a Department of the National Education Association of the United States. Since then, most members refer to it as AASA. Within the educational profession the initials are enough.

With the change in name and the reaffirmation in the Constitution of AASA's ties with the NEA, both the independence of the voice of administrators and their place as part of the whole teaching profession were confirmed.

Much is told us about two great leaders of the AASA in this letter to S. D. Shankland from Worth McClure, written on May 3, 1944. Dr. McClure, who was superintendent of schools in Seattle, Washington, had just completed a year as AASA president. He was later to succeed S. D. Shankland as executive secretary of the Association.

"This letter is to confirm what I have said piecemeal to you and about you as regards your service as executive secretary of the AASA during my incumbence of the presidency.

"I think it no exaggeration to say that you have built the AASA into what it is today. Presidents have come and presidents have gone—with the wind. Each has had undoubtedly something to contribute, but yours is the master mind that prepared the design upon the trestle board, yours the master touch that schooled the awkward apprentices, and yours the master hand that spread the cement of brotherly love and understanding which has moulded the building into one perfect whole with plenty of leeway for future growth.

"Many times has the Association been the beneficiary of your sagacity and skill, but fortunate indeed has it been that you were on hand to counsel and to direct our fortunes during the past year. Your ready grasp of the logic of the circumstances which confronted us, your durable enterprise and insight in implementing the plans which we conceived last summer, and your indefatigable on-the-ground supervision of the five regional conferences made them the useful meetings which they turned out to be. And when I say useful, I mean that the education of boys and girls in thousands of American communities will be better because of your devotion. . . .

"These are some of the things I have wanted to say to you face to face as we perambulated about the country this winter, but being addicted to recurrent attacks of foot-and-mouth disease, I have had to put them into this, my last letter upon official Association stationery. . . ."

The American Education Award was presented to Mr. Shankland at the convention in Chicago in March 1946, just a few months before his retirement. At the meeting in Atlantic City in 1947, members of the AASA gave him an automobile and an illuminated manuscript.

A Sad Duty

On July 1, 1946, Worth McClure took over the reins as AASA executive secretary. It was on June 2, 1947, that Dr. McClure sent the following message to members of the AASA:

"It becomes my sad duty to inform you of the death of Secretary Emeritus

S. D. Shankland on Tuesday, May 27. Only the day before, Mr. Shankland visited our offices, as he frequently did. He appeared to be in excellent health and spirits. That night he went to George Washington University Hospital for a minor operation which was performed Tuesday morning. His death came unexpectedly at 9:00 o'clock Tuesday night and was due to post-operative shock. . . .

"Few men ever gave more generously of themselves for American education and few lives have been more potent in its improvement. The educational cause has lost a rugged, sagacious, and courageous leader. School administrators and teachers have lost a warm and devoted friend. . . ."

THE McCLURE-ENGLEMAN YEARS

The history of AASA in the decade after World War II was one of great growth in numbers and professional effectiveness. Worth McClure, serving as the second full-time executive secretary, continued the Shankland tradition of vision, energy, and leadership for 10 years, from 1946 to 1956.

Worth McClure's early career as teacher and principal in various public school systems of Washington State was followed in 1915 by an appointment as a principal in Seattle. He served as assistant to the superintendent and assistant superintendent in Seattle before being named to the superintendency of schools there in 1930. In 1944 he left Seattle to be superintendent in University City, Missouri. It was from the University City position that he went to Washington, D.C., in 1946 to head the AASA.

A native of Iowa, Worth McClure was a graduate of Simpson College in Indianola, Iowa. He obtained his master's degree at the University of Washington and his doctorate in education at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Some insight into the McClure administration of AASA is given by an article in the October 1955 issue of *The Nation's Schools*. The story, "Prelude to Retirement," is in the form of an interview of Dr. McClure by Hollis A. Moore, Jr., then executive secretary of the AASA Committee for the Advancement of School Administration. Excerpts from that interview are published here.

Moore: You've seen a lot of changes in the A.A.S.A.—the latter day Department of Superintendence—haven't you?

McClure: I certainly have. Of course, I've been closest to them during the last 10 years.

Moore: What have been the biggest changes in the association during the last decade?

McClure: As I look back I think I detect a truly fundamental change in the association. When we came out of World War II we were mainly a convention and yearbook organization, serving chiefly city and large town school systems. Our program has expanded tremendously since then. The big change occurred, I guess, in 1949.

Moore: That was the year the dues were doubled, wasn't it?

McClure: That's right. We moved from \$5 to \$10 after the association voted the raise in 1948. One of the first things that meant was a chance to expand our services. We concentrated first on village and rural area administrators. We employed Shirley Cooper to head up that part of our program. You know, of course, how that has grown by leaps and bounds. The A.A.S.A. doesn't sponsor anything that gets a more enthusiastic acceptance than our drive-in conferences, which we co-sponsor with the Department of Rural Education.

Moore: What other services were started?

McClure: We launched our pamphlet series in 1949 too. These pamphlets are intended to pin-point practical problems of the superintendents. The first one was 'Choosing the Superintendent of Schools,' the next one 'The School Board Member in Action,' and they went on from there.

Moore: Wasn't 1949 a big year for the C.P.E.A. [Cooperative Program in Educational Administration], too?

McClure: That's right. Four out of the five exploratory conferences were held that year. (The first one was in December of 1948.) These conferences were called to explore the job of the superintendent of schools and make suggestions for changes in his preparation and to suggest resources that might be used. The next year, of course, saw the first five of the eight regional centers started with generous grants from the Kellogg Foundation.

Moore: Was the annual meeting of the presidents of state associations of administrators a 1949 innovation, too?

McClure: No, that was authorized by the executive committee in the spring of 1947. It was quite a daring recommendation, really, to spend \$3500 for a presidents conference out of a total budget at that time of only \$60,000, but the committee thought it was worth that to strengthen the ties between the national and the state administrators organizations.

Moore: What more recent developments have there been in the program of the association?

McClure: Our participation in international affairs is tremendously important. In recent years our voice has grown considerably louder in this area. The latest step, of course, was Hi Willett's trip to Geneva earlier this summer. I think it is highly significant that the Department of State appointed the A.A.S.A. president as the ranking member of the American team of delegates to the International Conference on Public Education, sponsored by the International Bureau of Education and UNESCO.

Moore: Which of these changes do you point to as most significant?

McClure: No question there—it's our emphasis on the professional advancement of school administration. Of course, all of our actions, we hope, have been pointed in this direction, but the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration has sort of dramatized it. I look upon the C.P.E.A. as the most important action the association has taken during the years I have known it. With our newly inaugurated Committee for the Advancement of

School Administration, we are moving toward a self-disciplining profession we can all be proud of. Personally, I think the American Association of School Administrators ought to have a great deal to do with recognizing adequate programs of preparation. I think it ought to have something to say about what a college ought to have before it can train a school administrator. I'm not talking of certification as such here, but I *am* talking about the right and duty of a profession to police itself to ensure a high selectivity of people who enter it and a rigorous program of education for those who practice it. I might add that I think our committee must at all times represent the public as well as the profession. That is fundamental.

Dr. McClure's final report to the Executive Committee was a review of the years 1946-56. It was published in a special issue of *The School Administrator*, September 17, 1956. Its approximately 12,000 words developed this thesis:

The AASA story in this testing decade may be condensed to three words—a very simple trilogy: *Service—Growth—Service*.

"Services were first. Growth followed with increased resources. Resources were plowed back into services and growth followed in continuing upward spiral."

The illuminated manuscript presented to Dr. McClure as the recipient of the American Education Award for 1957 expressed appreciation and admiration for services to education and his AASA leadership, and ended with this thought: "His most cherished possessions in retirement will be the love and respect that his fellow educators hold for him. . . ."

When Worth McClure died in August 1962 in Seattle, a final great tribute was paid to him by his successor, Finis E. Engleman, in these words from *The School Administrator*:

"Like a giant oak that has stood as a landmark, giving refuge from the heat of the day and providing a special character to a total environment, a great man serves his culture. Just as the complete worth of a magnificent tree is seldom appreciated until the ravages of time take their toll, so it is with a great man. Now that Worth McClure is dead, his role in improving education in America stands even more startlingly clear. His was a life filled with deep devotion to mankind, blessed with imagination, creativity, and depth of insight; and it was complete with a courage that never faltered.

"Worth McClure, like the true leader of a great people searching for a special destiny, believed a responsibility was a sacred privilege and that life had true purpose and personal significance only when devoted to the welfare of all men. For him there was no room for the defeatist, the weary, the despondent, the retreator, the cynic. He faced life possessing firmness without harshness, vision without daydreaming, confidence without brashness, and courage stripped of vanity.

"Now that the great oak has fallen, let us recognize as never before the debt every educator in America owes him. Possibly we can honor him best by resolving to emulate his signal qualities and by resolving to strive unrelentingly to be worthy of the mantle of leadership he has now passed on to us."

A Wealth of Experience

Finis Ewing Engelman took office as executive secretary of the AASA on September 16, 1956. He had been commissioner of education in Connecticut since 1948, but that was just one phase of a career covering the full range of teaching and administrative experience—from rural teacher to college president.

In his native Missouri, he was a teacher and principal in both elementary and secondary schools. His superintendencies were in Monett and Nevada, Missouri. In higher education, he taught at colleges in Missouri, New York, and Connecticut. He was president of New Haven (Connecticut) State Teachers College for 10 years.

Dr. Engleman saw service in both world wars. In World War I, he was a naval aviator. In World War II, he was a commander in the Naval Air Force with two years of service overseas.

He has been president of the Council of Chief State School Officers and of the National Aviation Education Council; chairman twice of the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards; and vice-president of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. He served as vice-chairman of the White House Conference on Education in 1955. He has been both chairman and member of United States delegations to the annual International Conference on Public Education in Geneva, Switzerland, and a delegate to the general conference of UNESCO in Paris. Currently, he is a member of the Governing Board of the UNESCO Institute for Education, Hamburg, Germany, and a member of the Board of Consultants for the National War College.

His bachelor's degree is from Southwest Missouri State College, his master's from the University of Missouri, and his Ph.D. from Yale University.

Besides many articles in professional journals, Dr. Engelman has written two books, *Scales and Fins* and *Airways*, and is coauthor of *Vignettes on the Theory and Practice of School Administration*.

Just prior to Dr. Engleman's retirement in September 1963, he was interviewed by Arthur H. Rice. Following are portions of the conversation.

Rice: You have indicated that the job of the chief school administrator is changing.

Engleman: It's changing and will keep on changing, but the chief administrator still has to be the quarterback of the team.

Rice: But he can't always carry the ball!

Engleman: He shouldn't, and part of the time he's blocking. And, of course, he sometimes fumbles. But we ought to get to the point where he isn't too embarrassed when he does, and where his associates do not lose confidence in him when he does, because mistakes are to be expected with people who are active.

Rice: The superintendent's authority resides almost entirely in his contract. Yet contracts are broken with little or no redress from the courts or state departments. The continuing improvement of school administration requires that

the professional superintendent be given more protection as he tries to do what he believes is right. What can and should the AASA do about protecting the superintendent's contractual rights, and also about improving them?

Engleman: The first thing to do is to improve his commitment, the conviction that there is nothing in the universe that's more important in which to be involved. That will sustain a man even when he is losing his job. If we can build into our programs of preparation a complete understanding that our nation is undergirded to a very major degree by public education and that education is strong or weak according to the leadership the superintendent provides, this, in itself, will cause him to expect occasionally to be dismissed by a community. Now AASA has a code of ethics. The next step is a plan for implementing it so that we can both discipline and protect our own membership at the same time.

Rice: Have you any idea for a plan to make the code a living part of a man's thinking and behavior?

Engleman: It becomes a living part if he begins to study it and talk about it with his associates and see the implications of each one of the elements in the code. We've got that going in a great many of our state associations at the moment.

Rice: The AASA membership has virtually doubled in 10 years, almost more growth than in the previous 90 years. How do you explain that?

Engleman: The Association has had a program for improving the competence of its members, carefully planned and well-supported with Kellogg Foundation funds. We've actually been doing things for public education by helping in the improvement of school administrators. We've done little, and I think we shouldn't do much, about promoting them or finding them jobs, but we have helped them become more competent. This has become obvious to many people, and so they are joining.

Rice: You place a lot of importance upon the state associations of school administrators.

Engleman: I still think that education is a state function. We have our best operations within the states. That being true, I believe that our Association will develop fastest where lots of people are in places of leadership, and you have to have state associations to get that.

Rice: Do you envision a federation? Your state associations aren't closely tied together.

Engleman: No, they're not, and it's just as well. The minute you tighten that relationship you begin to give too much direction from one place, and that's dangerous. There is some danger in our present setup in that seven men often have to make policies for all of us, except for resolutions at the annual meeting or polls and votes on important things like a change in the platform. And so I'm a little afraid of trying to concentrate still further.

Rice: During the NEA convention in Detroit in July 1963, there were heated discussions about sanctions, strikes, and professional negotiations. What do these trends mean for the superintendent?

Engleman: We produced *Roles, Responsibilities, Relationships of the School Board, Superintendent, and Staff* because this is a growing problem, and probably one of the most difficult ones. We can't turn to professional literature to find help. Among us we must find the answers, and do it fast. Theories have to be tested and practiced.

Rice: This is going to be one of the major concerns of the organized school administrator, isn't it?

Engleman: Yes, we must develop techniques and understandings and competencies.

In May 1963, Finis Engleman announced his retirement as executive secretary of the AASA. The resignation became effective September 30, 1963, after Forrest E. Conner had been selected as his successor.

Expression of Esteem

The esteem in which Dr. Engleman is held was eloquently expressed in the manuscript presented to him as the recipient of the American Education Award in 1964. It reads, in part:

"For a half century Finis E. Engleman has been at the forefront in efforts to make the schools of the country better. As a scholar, he has probed deeply into the heritage of the ages and the culture of the present for essential facts and basic understandings. As a teacher, he has intimately touched the lives of an almost countless number of children and youth and brought out the best that was in them. And as an administrator, he has broadened the visions of his associates, clarified educational goals, and secured greater support for schools.

"Because of his leadership, teacher education has been strengthened, state departments of education improved, professional organizations made more effective, and international understanding increased. As an idealist, he has been practical. With a research worker's passion for objective evidence, he has been ever mindful of the importance of the arts and the humanities. And with full recognition of the necessity for orderly processes, he has been sensitive to the forces and anxieties that move individuals in every walk of life.

"His unquestionable integrity, his willingness to stand up and be counted even when the tides of common opinion flowed against him, his full commitment to the institution of public education, and his deep-seated belief that every person is important and clothed with dignity, have led professional school people and lay citizens alike to turn to him for guidance and to look to him as a leader."

Dr. Engleman assumed the title "emeritus" in the fall of 1963. He and Mrs. Engleman are nominally at home in Pitman, New Jersey. Yet his schedule of speaking, teaching, and counseling seems hardly less staggering than before.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Discuss the possible burden imposed upon persons serving on the board of education in the typical American school district through membership on the board. Sometimes this burden may be a considerable expenditure of money and time as well as effort on the part of the board member. Would you favor paying school board members for their time and trouble out of school funds, as Horace Mann suggested?

2. Why did not the committees of Horace Mann's day pay their members for services rendered, but instead went to the practice of employing a "clerk" of the board, or "school manager" instead?

3. Examine other reports of "The Secretary," with attention to the school problems which he highlighted through these reports. How many of these problems are still with us?

4. Outline the history of the American Association of School Administrators in terms of (a) men who shaped the organization (b) ideas with which the organization dealt, and (c) qualities of the professional administrator as they emerged into full professional blossom. (See Chapter 11 of this text.)

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PART II

Traditional Concepts
of School Administration

To administer . . . is to rule.

COMTE DE MIRABEAU (1749-1791)

I will govern according to the common weal, but not according to the common will.

JAMES I of England,

Reply to the House of Commons, 1621

Upon the educational insight, largeness of vision, good nature, ability in administration, discretion, tact, personal loyalty, and frankness in discussion of the principals of a school system, the success or failure of the policies evolved for the conduct of a school system in large part depends.

ELLWOOD P. CUBBERLEY,

The Principal and His School

The world is full of willing people: some willing to work, the rest willing to let them.

ROBERT FROST

In recent years management has been recognized as a distinct trade necessitating identifiable skills. When applied to managing a school system, it entails most importantly the art of manipulating human beings.

ROBERT E. WILSON,

The Modern School Superintendent

CHAPTER 4

The Leadership Concept

GOD GIVE US MEN!

Josiah Gilbert Holland

God, give us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor—men who will not lie;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty, and in private thinking:
For while the rabble, with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds—
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps!

WHAT IS LEADERSHIP?

The cry of every age has been, "God, give us men!" Today, the demand is for more and better leaders. In the twentieth century, no less than in any prior hundred-year period, trained, capable, and dedicated leadership is required. The need is especially critical in public schools, where an accelerating growth in the size and complexity of the educational enterprise has given rise to problems never before encountered. The dual nature of the chief administrator's job as explained by Halpin * poses a fundamental problem of leadership loyalty:

* Andrew W. Halpin, *The Leadership Behavior of School Superintendents* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 1.

The superintendent, as the officially designated leader in charge of the school organization, is confronted by two major sets of responsibilities. He is responsible to the board of education, but he must also be responsive to the members of his own professional staff. Both reference groups, the board and the staff, impose upon him expectations of how he should behave as a leader. When these expectations are essentially similar, he probably encounters no difficulty in orienting his behavior to them. But to the extent that they are incompatible, he is placed in a position of potential role conflict. How should he behave as the leader? Should he respond principally to the expectations of his board or to those of his staff? Or should he "be his own man" and persist in his own style of leadership irrespective of what either board or staff may wish? These practical questions plague most school administrators and are of equal concern to those responsible for their pre-service and in-service training.

The difficulty of dualistic loyalty in school administration gives rise to the question, "What is meant by the word 'leadership'?" Although widely used, the word lacks definite, precise meaning. Dictionaries give varying definitions for the word. In one sense, it may be used to refer to an *office or position*, as illustrated in the expression, "He was forced from leadership by a younger man." In another sense, it may be used to refer to the *capacity* to lead, as in, "Only a few men possess the quality of leadership." Other meanings pertain to *the act* of leading others, as illustrated in the sentence, "Leadership came easy to Washington," or to refer to *a group of persons*, as in the sentence, "The party leadership ignored the dispute." In addition, the word has a variety of meanings in the literature. Tead * defines leadership as "the activity of influencing people to cooperate toward some goal which they come to find desirable." Halpin † describes leadership "as a complex social phenomenon that cannot be treated meaningfully apart from related situational factors." He chooses to use the term "leadership behavior" instead in discussing the phenomenon.

The National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration (NCPEA) sought to deal with the problem of leadership in school administration in a meaningful way to provide programs of preparation in which leadership might be acquired. In a 1951 publication, ‡ the NCPEA clarified the nature and scope of educational leadership within the democratic framework, as contrasted with the traditional authoritarian concept. The following selection is reprinted from that publication.

* Ordway Tead, *The Art of Leadership* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935), p. 20.

† Halpin, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

‡ Van Miller (ed), *Providing and Improving Administrative Leadership* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951), 74 pp.

THE NATURE AND TECHNIQUE OF LEADERSHIP

National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration

THE TERM *leadership* describes a relation between persons. It refers to interplay among persons. This relation results in one person having for a time the major responsibility for the activities and the welfare of the group. Leadership is displayed when one person affects another person or a group of persons in such a way that common direction is given to their efforts through this one person. Leadership is always accomplished in relation to others—never alone.

The “leading” person may use force—real or implied—to get common direction; in this case followership is involuntary. The “leading” person may use delusion; followership is ignorant. The “leading” person may use his position or his personal attractiveness alone; followership is intellectually blind. These types of leadership are effective in achieving some ends, but they are neither safe nor genuinely productive.

Leadership described in these terms is not what we want for education. It has no referents; we cannot know where it is headed. It might upgrade; but it also might destroy. All it provides for is that persons shall be headed for the same place. It says nothing about *what* place. Therefore, we have to provide a point of reference through the introduction of a modifier and direct our attention to “democratic” leadership.

DEMOCRATIC EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

We citizens are responsible for the continuous improvement of our democratic society. Responsibility of us all makes society democratic. But the leadership role cannot be occupied by all at the same time, for we cannot abandon all of the other positions of specific responsibility. We become responsible for our leaders and through them for the common direction we take. And our leaders are responsible to us. Such leadership takes its direction from the ideals of our culture and from the needs of our times. These ideals underline the purpose of our society—a valiant endeavor for a better life for all men.

Three of these ideals are fundamental to democratic educational leadership. The first declares *dignity and worth of the individual*. Man is placed first; things are subjugated to the welfare of man. Merit, real or potential, is ascribed to every individual. Because each accepts the attribution of merit to every

SOURCE: From *Providing and Improving Administrative Leadership*, Van Miller (ed). Published by the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, 1951. Not copyrighted.

person, each person thus becomes responsible for the development of all other persons. The best society is composed of individuals who attain their fullest potential. The differences among individuals make each, at his best, desirably different in many respects from other individuals.

The second ideal of democracy places *reliance upon the method of intelligence*. This ideal conceives that man's problems can be solved through his own intellectual efforts. It does not seek to minimize the importance of emotional drives and habits in man's life; it does emphasize the importance of intelligent utilization of his drives and habits. It is diametrically opposed to the concept that man's problems may be solved by appeals to authority.

The third ideal of democracy places *reliance on cooperative group action in the solution of common problems*. Cooperative action is that which will bring the individual intelligence of each member of the group to bear most fully and appropriately in the solution of a common problem. The recognition of the dignity and worth of each member of the group provides a basis for cooperative action.

Democratic leadership always exercises its function toward the achievement of two ends. First, society itself is improved. Things get done. Toward this end *efficiency* is the criterion. Second, those who get things done are themselves improved. The group which displays efficiency in getting things done is itself improved in the process. Individuals who make up the group are improved. Participants develop in their power to do; they mature in insight. Toward this end *growth* is the criterion. To grow in power to do—to develop the competencies of persons and to improve the power of people to act together—*this is the fundamental purpose of education*.

Democratic leadership, then, is the only acceptable kind of leadership for education. It gets things done. It improves the schools. But it does so within the context of American public education; the public—the whole public—performs this process of improvement. The goals of improvement are designed through public participation, and the method of reaching these goals grows out of continued participation.

Public schools under democratic leadership are the most important single agency for the improvement of communities. As the school improves, so does the community. Those who participate in improving the school are themselves improved. The power of the school as an educational institution is thus enhanced far beyond anything we have realized in the past. For as the participants perform this process of improving the schools, they themselves grow in their power to do; they mature in insight. *They become educated to democratic patterns of social action*. The participants, therefore, necessarily include the pupils. They include the public—the whole public—as they must in any society that has established education as a major instrument in public policy. And they include the teaching staff and its leaders.

Democratic educational leadership is an emerging characteristic. It appears only in spots. We may safely say that no school administrator anywhere exhibits completely all of the techniques of democratic leadership.

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNITY GROUPS

It is obvious that the democratic administrator works with other persons in the formation and development of educational programs. There must be groups in democratic action. Groups may be of many types. There is the forum—a loosely formed organization comprising all who want to be members. At the other extreme is the secret society, in which membership is strictly regulated. The groups in any community are many and varied and have an infinite number of purposes to achieve. Every community has groups.

Every democratic administrator must know what groups exist in his community. He must know how to discover them. He must know how each of them gets its work done—from the highly organized groups of long standing to the loosely formed temporary group whose members have little feeling of solidarity. How the community is structured and stratified into the groups which get its business done is of utmost importance to democratic administration. In reaching this understanding the administrator will have the help and participation of the citizens of the community.

There must be understanding of the pattern of group membership and of the purposes for which groups have formed within the student body, within the school staff, and throughout the community itself. What individuals join or fail to join and what purposes they think they are achieving in joining is worthy of consideration. Individuals with no group affiliations should also be identified. Such information is pertinent to determining the need for new groups. Crisis situations frequently call for the formation of new groups. Special interests and special problems may become evident and demand particular personnel and special organization. The reasons for group formation are important. Most groups are organized to fulfill some social, economic, or cultural need of their members. Some come into being because of the magnetic appeal of an outstanding leader. Many groups remain in operation long after their original purpose has been achieved.

Educational leadership is more than group leadership. The school administrator does not attempt to break down existing groups in the community but tries to relate them to each other and to common community purposes. He promotes group membership for individuals as a means by which they may participate in the democratic processes of the local community. He promotes democratic group functioning through his own knowledge and ability in group leadership.

THE MOTIVATION OF LEADERSHIP

Democratic educational leadership does not come about accidentally. It is not the result of a *laissez-faire* policy on the part of those who occupy positions in the hierarchy of authority. Democratic school administration has a structure and a technique. These are its outward signs. It also has inward motivation; for it is highly personal in nature. It rests upon deep abiding convictions.

School administrators who exhibit democratic leadership seem to hold convictions like these:

The Inward Convictions of Democratic Leadership

1. *The Welfare of the group is assured by the welfare of each individual.*
2. *Decisions reached through the cooperative use of intelligence are, in total, more valid than decisions made by individuals.* A group can take into account more completely than an individual the various considerations which are relevant to the problem at hand. In resolving the conflicts between various points of view, the group can see new relationships and develop a synthesis which is greater than its component ideas.
3. *Every idea is entitled to a fair hearing.* An idea is to be examined on its merits rather than on the basis of who proposed it. When it is examined by free informed citizens, there is nothing to fear.
4. *Every person can make a unique and important contribution.* Individuality rather than uniformity extends the comprehensiveness of problem exploration.
5. *Growth comes from within the group rather than from without.* People must be allowed to discover things for themselves. They take less initiative when they are told what to do than when they have a part in determining the course of action.
6. *Democracy is a way of living.* Democratic systems are not perfected systems, but bettering ones. Democratic means are essential for the attainment of democratic ends.
7. *Democratic methods are efficient methods.* Democracy creates the best plan of action. It helps individuals develop creative power. It helps the group use all its resources to solve its problems. It commits the members of the group to the success of the plan.
8. *Individuals are dependable.* The instances of untrustworthiness are small compared with the total number of occasions on which reliance was placed upon individuals. If examined closely even those instances are likely to represent misunderstanding rather than bad faith.
9. *Persons merit love.* Tender and devout love for all men is the essential component of great personal leadership in a democratic society.

LEADERSHIP IN ACTION

These convictions are expressed in action. Democratic educational leadership exhibits certain tangible characteristics which grow out of the leader's inward motivation:

The Outward Signs of Democratic Leadership

1. *Its processes increase the powers of individuals to adjust, to solve problems, to gain satisfactory expression, to maintain emotional poise, and to grow in attitudes and mature in behavior.*
2. *Its effectiveness is measured by what happens to people.* Securing imme-

ciate results may be essential, but ultimate welfare of people is the principal criterion.

3. *It grows out of the action of a group working on a problem and does not belong to any one individual as a privilege.* Any and all who make contributions are regarded as exercising leadership. It shifts from one to another participant as the members mutually share the responsibility for successful achievement of the goal. No member truly possesses leadership unless it is ascribed to him by the group.

4. *It comes from within the group and not from some outside source.* The leader who does not identify himself with the interests and purposes of the group members may well be regarded as an outsider with no right to recognition as a leader.

5. *It develops and uses for the common good the potentialities of each member of the group.*

6. *It shares the formulation of policies and decisions with every person concerned with or to be effected by the decision, insofar as possible.*

7. *It assists the group in arriving at a consensus.* Consensus resolves issues into commitments rather than into triumphs and surrenders.

SOME TASKS OF LEADERSHIP

Democratic educational leadership must serve in the improvement of schools and also in the improvement of the power of people to improve their schools. Some of the obligations of such leadership can be described as follows:

Exercising Leadership in Developing Group Consciousness and Morale

The development of group consciousness and high morale is the first task of the educational leader. With high morale a group and a community can do much. With low morale little can be accomplished and what is accomplished may be attained at the cost of decreasing the willingness and ability of people to work together.

Friendship and security are basic to morale. People want fellowship along with membership in a group, but fellowship must be synonymous with acceptance of one another. And there must be freedom in thought and action. The leader's first task is to break down individual reserve, suspicion, self-assertiveness, or desire for ascendancy. Superior-inferior relationships among the members must be destroyed. In early stages of group associations people should do things together. People should be fully informed on all that is done.

The change from formality to informality removes restrictions and increases morale. Time must be taken at the beginning for getting acquainted. A little genuine fun and relaxation will help weld individuals into a group. There must be a communality of interests and desires among the members of the group. A group is created out of an aggregate by getting the members to feel fraternal, kindly, and deeply interested in each other. When they begin to feel genuinely interested in each other and comfortable in each other's company group strength begins to appear.

High morale also grows out of success. Groups need to direct their energies toward goals that transcend yet encompass their lesser interests. Groups need to work at some readily attainable goals along with more challenging long-range goals which require extended effort and provide continuity.

Exercising Leadership in Group Determination of Wants and Needs

An administrator must identify himself with the problems of the people and community in order to invite their confidence in him. He must stimulate group appraisal of current conditions in the light of attainable goals. He must develop a working structure for channeling the cooperative expression of wants and needs. Where recognized groups and organizations exist he enlists their support. He may, in addition, find it desirable to assist in establishing new groups—community planning councils, advisory committees, and the like. Within the school system he will encourage the development of professional and nonprofessional associations of teachers, student councils, and lay advisory committees.

He is responsible for seeing that people have information regarding education. The public must know the possibilities for improvement in order to determine wants and needs. Awareness of such possibilities must be developed through the use of motion pictures, illustrated booklets, visitation and observation both within the community and in other communities, special consultants, news stories, radio presentations, suggested reading.

Exercising Leadership in Group Organization of a Plan of Action

When a specific group or a community have identified a goal to be sought through cooperative study and action an administrator must help them see the task ahead in its entirety and the interrelationships of its component parts. He assists the group in outlining the whole job. He aids the group in identifying tasks which can be delegated with authority and responsibility. He helps it to organize the job: its objectives; the limitations of authority and responsibility of individuals and groups; and the interrelationships of subgroups and individuals to the total enterprise.

The administrator helps the group to organize itself for the task to be accomplished. He assures the delegation of authority when responsibility is delegated. When a group has identified its problem, evolved a plan of action, selected its key personnel, it may have to look outside itself for power to act. The administrator helps the group to realize the extent and the limits of its own authority and to relate itself appropriately to individuals or groups essential to the plan.

He is able to help the group locate and enlist human and material resources to assist in carrying out the plan. He assists in maintaining contacts with state and national groups doing research, conducting workshops, and otherwise doing work related to the problem in question. He helps through maintenance of a current inventory of resource people and facilities in the local community.

He helps the group plan sufficient record-keeping to give direction to its work. He helps the group use record-keeping as a basis for improving its own procedures in group work. He facilitates the recognition of credit where it is due.

Exercising Leadership in Carrying Out the Group Plan

An administrator maintains a clear definition of the task along with others who are charged with the responsibility of implementing the group plan. To this end, he consults with others concerned, refreshes his own thinking and that of others about the task from time to time, discusses the intent as well as the expressed purposes of the group, studies the task as defined, encourages the use of special help as needed in the definition of the task.

He is concerned in helping the group develop procedures and techniques with which to carry out its plan. He discusses with those concerned the utility, advantage, efficiency, and effectiveness of proposed procedures and techniques. He brings about the full employment of the capacities of the group in the selection and adaptation of procedures and techniques.

He seeks coordination of the activities of individuals and groups with the alignment and integration of associated efforts. He may work with groups as a continuing participant or as a critical observer of the functioning of the group. He is not only concerned that the group gets its job done—and that it is a good job; his concern extends to increasing the skill of groups to execute their plans and to the continued learning of individuals to be effective group members.

He sees that the work of the group moves ahead and helps the group to see that it has moved ahead. He assists the group in checking its progress from time to time and in analyzing the blocks that may develop through lack of coordination or failure of personal relations or lack of materials and time. He works for the readjustment of time schedules and the regrouping of individuals to eliminate hindrances and frustrations.

Facilitation is in essence the highest employment of all factors, material and human, physical and psychological, to make possible the greatest attainable success. This is the test and the promise of democratic educational leadership.

Exercising Leadership in Securing Appraisal of the Leadership

The administrator shares with others the responsibility for making an account of the achievement of the group. He stimulates the group to appraise its activities, procedures, and techniques; to evaluate its competence and disposition to work cooperatively. He evaluates his own leadership, its processes, and its outcomes. An analysis is prerequisite to appraisal. He and others with him examine his whole leadership in process; they examine particular projects with respect to processes and results. By including the area of his own leadership as a rightful part of evaluation of group work he will more readily set the psychological tone essential for the group if it is to profit from appraisal. He will open an effective way for his own improvement.

The discussion of the nature and technique of leadership presented represents an initial rather than a final statement. We discern these specifications for democratic educational leadership from observing the experience of some successful leaders. All educational leaders must adopt such techniques for themselves. The fostering of group action in solving problems is an important area for improvement in the field of educational administration. As leaders adopt these techniques other techniques, which will be both more effective and more democratic than those now employed, will be invented.

ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE LEADERSHIP ENIGMA

Problems of who is a leader, what constitutes leadership, and how persons can be trained for leadership have been prevalent since the beginning of organized groups. Solutions to these problems have not been simple. In Sparta, for example, leadership, was given those who were strong and courageous in battle. The Spartans prized unusual size, extraordinary strength, and a high level of skill at arms in choosing their leaders. On the other hand, Athenians tended to choose those leaders who excelled through their powers of logic and oratory. In China, about 600 B.C., a wise man wrote:

A leader is best

When people barely know that he exists, . . .

Of a good leader, who talks little,

When his work is done, his aim fulfilled,

They will say, "We did this ourselves."

These are the words of Laotsu, the Chinese philosopher, who seemed to believe in some of the same conceptions of "democratic" leadership as it is known today. Apparently, the Chinese visualized a leader as one who shared, like Moses, his power to make decisions with the help of those who would be affected by the decision!

Later, particularly with the rise of national governments, the concept that leadership ran in families became common. Qualities of leadership were inherited from the father, king, or leader of the state. Families ruled by "divine right." Since the king could do no wrong, leadership was absolute, with the followers challenging the authority of the leader rarely if at all. To question the leadership under such conditions would have constituted treason; hence, little attempt was made to study the nature of leadership or seek to develop leadership among any but the royal families.

Much of our formal theorizing about the nature of leadership came from the influence of the early military and church organizations.

"Leadership by organizational plan" emerged from these early attempts at theorizing about leadership, and today the influence of these "text-book principles" is very extensive in the literature. These principles consist of the idea that there must be a hierarchical structure in the organization, that a unity of command must exist, and that a division of labor is necessary—the elementary principles of organization outlined in Chapter 1. Despite the fact that the principles rest primarily upon speculation rather than established research, the literature consistently gives the impression that these classical principles cannot be challenged. The manual for a supervisory training program in one large company, for example, recently suggested that the instructor point out by analogy and example "that the principles of organization are 'like the laws of physics.'" Consequently, "leadership by organizational plan" has predominated into the twentieth century in spite of compelling evidence that these laws are not immutable.

From these conventional principles have come some interesting innovations and even contradictions in early theories of leadership. For example, unity of command (the principle that every member of the organization must have only one boss) may be essential on the battlefield, but it is not a universal principle today. Despite what the organizational chart may show, the typical middle-level manager in the modern industrial organization finds that his behavior is controlled not by one but by several "superiors." In some school systems, project groups are formed to carry out complex tasks, and the members of these groups report both to a project supervisor and to their functional superiors. Moreover, there is always one organization, indeed one of wide distribution in our culture, in which "subordinates" always have two bosses: the family! And so one may question the infallibility of the so-called textbook principles of organizational leadership in modern circumstances.

Decentralization in military, governmental, and industrial organizational units has led to a different kind of leadership, one which requires a high level of discretion by the commander in the field. In education, the key person in educational leadership is the building principal, who must deal with specific problems within the broad context of district policy.

The application of "democratic" principles to the traditional leader's role has brought new implications to the leader, as illustrated in the following selection.

LEADERSHIP: A CONCEPTION AND SOME IMPLICATIONS

Irving Knickerbocker

DURING several years of working with the problem of human relations which arise in organizations of people, my colleagues and I have sought a satisfactory conceptualization of the phenomena of leadership. We have gradually crystallized some ideas which have been helpful both theoretically and practically. However, a recent survey of the literature on leadership suggests that we have wandered from the paths customarily followed by students of the subject.

Motivated by the conviction that some systematic frame of reference, however rough, is better than none, we offer the following analysis of leadership for what it may suggest to those who are interested. While these are in part speculative considerations, they have been tested for usefulness through some years of practice.

Much of the literature on leadership represents an attempt to study the leader as an entity possessed of characteristic traits and occupying rather inertly a status position relative to other individuals who are not too clearly related to him.¹ Actually, the leader emerges as a consequence of the needs of a group of people and of the nature of the situation within which that group is attempting to operate. Stogdill,² after an exhaustive survey of the literature, concludes that "leadership is not a matter of passive status, or of the mere possession of some combination of traits. It appears rather to be a working relationship among members of a group, in which the leader acquires status through active participation and demonstration of his capacity for carrying cooperative tasks through to completion."

Jenkins,³ reviewing the literature dealing with the problem of the selection of leaders in various fields, finds that "The situation does not appear to be a particularly happy one with regard to the deriving of general principles or of setting up a systematic theory of leadership from the available information. A few statements may be set forth, however, that appear to hold for the findings of a number of the investigations reviewed; this list should be thought of

¹ A notable exception is *The Functions of the Executive* by Chester Barnard (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938).

² Ralph M. Stogdill, "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of the Literature," *Journal of Psychology*, 1948, 25: 35-71.

³ William O. Jenkins, "A Review of Leadership Studies with Particular Reference to Military Problems," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1947, Vol. 44, No. 1, p. 75.

as a series of hypotheses for further investigation." His first statement is as follows: "Leadership is specific to the particular situation under investigation. Who becomes the leader of a given group engaging in a particular activity and what leadership characteristics are, in a given case are a function of the specific situation including the measuring instruments employed. Related to this conclusion is the general finding of wide variations in the characteristics of individuals who become leaders in similar situations, and even greater divergence in leadership behavior in different situations."

These authors, and a few others, have apparently recognized some of the inadequacies of the literature of leadership and of traditional research approaches to the subject. However, we are left standing on the threshold of a house which has not yet been erected. It is the purpose of this article to draw a tentative architect's sketch of the house which is so badly needed.

Although the evidence does not support the romantic conception of the leader endowed with magic attributes, this conception is widely held. One wonders why it persists with such vitality. Perhaps the fact that each of us commenced his life under the guidance of a leader—a big man of tremendous endowment, with almost limitless power—would help to explain the prevalence and tenacity with which this Leader concept is held.

Each of us had a father, a prestige figure, magically endowed. Many of us found security in that figure. Since we continue to need security, perhaps we continue to carry with us out of childhood the father symbol, the Leader. If such an assumption may be accepted, then we can readily see that the leader, or the man whom we conceptualize as a leader, should be larger, more intelligent, more mature, more cultured, more impressive than we.⁴

Individuals so endowed relative to the group with which they are associated would statistically be seen more often as potential leaders and statistically be placed more often in a position where they might practice leadership, and finally might statistically more often become leaders. All this could happen frequently enough to give us the feeling that leaders somehow are different and permit us to make the misleading research finding that the leader is an entity who can be considered apart from his functional relationship to his followers.

Following our assumptions further, we should not be surprised to find that men who have achieved through function a position of leadership have usually possessed many of the mythical attributes of the leader. They serve as ink blots onto which people project their desires for security and dependence. To be sure, the degree of such endowment may be expected to vary with the closeness of the association between leader and followers. It is more difficult for their immediate associates to see them as leaders magically endowed. A consideration of Hitler and Roosevelt as seen by remote followers and immediate associates may lend some reality to this hypothesis.

It is interesting to speculate upon the possibility of the leader created by concerted action through various media of publicity in the absence of any true functional relationship between leader and followers. It doesn't seem im-

⁴ Stogdill, *op. cit.*

possible that such a leader might exist as an entity devoid of functional followers, but becoming for people the symbol, Leader. Certainly for most people the great leaders of history have been only a symbol. Any functional relationship between the people and the leader has been remote, if it existed at all. *Yet the leader in each case has arisen through performing certain functions relative to some group somewhere, sometime.* It would be interesting to compare the attitudes toward the leader of individuals from two groups, one composed of those functionally related to him as leader, the other composed of those for whom he existed as the symbol, Leader. From the historical literature there would appear to be sharp differences between the man and leader to his functional followers and the same Leader to those people who were not functionally related to him.

There is no reason to assume that the two concepts, Leader and functional leadership, may not be fused in many cases. Certainly the former would appear to grow out of the latter. If people are in search of the former, some of them at least may try to see in each functional leader a Leader. It would appear that those leaders with sufficient sense of the dramatic to lend themselves readily to conforming to the outward appearance of being a Leader may more readily become one. Lincoln was rather a disappointment to many people in this respect. Hitler and Mussolini took to the role more readily. The functional leader always earns respect and prestige to the extent that he fulfills his function, but immediate contact is apt to inhibit the growth of the extremes of the Leader concept. Hence the many cynical proverbs concerning the prophet in his own country.

It would appear then that the usual notion of the leader serves to cover two quite separate concepts.⁵ The first is an emotionally held conviction that some men are Leaders and as such are set apart from the common horde. These Leaders do not owe their position to their functional relationship to followers, but to an almost magical aura which surrounds them. They have godlike attributes which they have not earned but rather with which they have been endowed.

Our hypothesis is that this concept arises in our culture out of the relationship of the very young child with his father. An examination of the Leader concept in other cultures or an analysis of differences between leader concepts among male and female in our own culture should help test this hypothesis. If the hypothesis be granted, then the statistical appearance of certain traits ascribed to the Leader, and the statistical appearance of leaders with these traits is not surprising. Nor is it surprising that experimentally devised but functional tests of leaders do not bear out the coincidence of the specific traits and the function of leadership.

The other concept—functional leadership—places emphasis not on a fixed set of personal characteristics nor on particular kinds of leadership behavior, but upon the circumstances under which groups of people integrate and organize their activities toward objectives, and upon the way in which

⁵ A. C. Van Dusen, "Measuring Leadership Ability," *Personnel Psychology*, 1948, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 68.

that integration and organization is achieved. Thus the leadership function is analyzed and understood in terms of a dynamic relationship. A leader may acquire followers, or a group of people may create a leader, but the significant aspects of the process can only be understood in dynamic, relationship terms. Evidence and speculation to date make it appear that this functional or operational conception of leadership provides the more useful approach.⁶

We need some schema which will emphasize this relationship between leader and led as a dynamic pattern. As an aid to thinking about such relationships, we have developed the following simple schema.⁷

1. *Existence for each individual may be seen as a continued struggle to satisfy needs, relieve tensions, maintain an equilibrium.*

Each of us uses many different *means* for the satisfaction of his needs. We use muscular skills, personal appearance, intelligence, knowledge. We use tools, food, money. The means we habitually use may become needs themselves. In each specific case, however, some *means* is used for the satisfaction of a need or of a pattern of needs.

2. *Most needs in our culture are satisfied through relationships with other individuals or groups of individuals.*

This assumption points up the fact that people and our relationship with people constitute the *means* upon which we rely most heavily for the satisfaction of our needs. Other people as it were possess the means which we would use to satisfy our needs. We do not grow our own food, make our own clothes, provide our own transportation, educate ourselves, or even provide our own recreation. We satisfy such needs, and many others, through means controlled and provided by others. When we are lonely, another person appears to us as means and controls in a sense the means we would like to use. When we are insecure, a closer relationship with someone is the means we seek and that someone controls the means. Often another person may possess the means in the form of money, skill, knowledge, or tools which we need as means for the satisfaction of our needs. We attempt then to establish a relationship which will be a means to gain the use of something which in turn will be a means to need satisfaction. To the manager the worker possesses the means of skill or hands. Through relationship with the worker as means, the manager hopes to obtain the further means he requires to satisfy his needs. To the worker, the manager controls the means of job and pay. So all of us seek through relationships with others the means, or the means to the means, for satisfying needs.

⁶ Ordway Tead, *The Art of Leadership* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1935), pp. 20, 61; Jenkins, *op. cit.*; Stogdill, *op. cit.*; T. N. Whitehead, *Leadership in a Free Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 68; R. M. Stogdill, and C. L. Shartle, "Methods for Determining Patterns of Leadership Behavior in Relation to Organization Structure and Objectives," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1948, Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 286-291.

⁷ In the interests of brevity, only three of a half dozen or more interrelated generalizations are here mentioned.

3. *For any individual the process of employing his relationship with other individuals as means for the satisfaction of his needs is an active rather than a passive process.*

He does not wait passively for the occurrence of such relationships as will provide means for need satisfactions. He institutes appropriate relationships or utilizes those which already exist toward the end of satisfying his needs. The relationship is thus an active, striving one, through which each party is operating to augment his means for need satisfaction (or to protect the means already at hand). Since each individual possesses some quantum of means small or large which some other individual might utilize for need satisfaction, each individual through his control of those means has some bargaining power relative to others. The control of means ("scarce means," the economists call them), which others desire for the satisfaction of needs, constitutes what we ordinarily call power. The use of power (or "means control") to gain the means for need satisfaction from others appears to be the essential aspect of all human relationships. The individual who controls many or scarce means which other people seek to utilize for need satisfaction is in a position of power. Such power may be used by an individual either to reduce the means of other individuals (punishment) or to augment their means (reward) toward the ultimate end of inducing these other individuals to provide him with means for the satisfaction of his own needs.

This approach furnishes us with the bare essentials of a schema for considering the dynamic aspect of the relationship between people. That relationship appears to consist essentially in an active striving to procure through other people the means for need satisfaction. The relationship is of course bilateral, each party seeking means through the other. We should expect an individual to attempt to establish a relationship only when it appears to promise means and to maintain it only so long as it continues to do so. We might also predict that the greatest number of individuals would attempt to establish a relationship with that individual who in their perceptual field gave greatest promise of providing means.⁸ Finally, we might predict that individuals would attempt to break off relationships with and avoid those individuals who threaten to reduce their means, and if they could not do so would react protectively and possibly aggressively.

Let us consider a group of people including one who would be designated by the others as the leader if we asked. Let us make a general application of our schema to such a situation. We have a leader attempting to find a means through the activities of the group members for the satisfaction of *his* needs. At the same time the group members are in the relationship with him simply because he appears to them the best means available for the satisfaction of such of their *needs* as can be satisfied through this group.

Let us ask some questions concerning the individuals in the group.

⁸ H. H. Jennings, in *Readings in Social Psychology* (edited by Newcomb and Hartley) (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1947), p. 412.

Question 1

Why are the individuals in the group?

Because through it or through the leader they anticipate finding means for satisfying needs (or means for protecting themselves against a threatened loss of need satisfaction). If we run over groups that we know well, such as a labor union, a church, a business association, a social club, etc., we seem to find that we joined such groups because they appeared to offer means. We leave them when they no longer seem to do so.

Question 2

Why do the individuals accept direction of their activities?

Because this behavior appears to them to provide means for the satisfaction of their needs. The leader is seen as a means; through the relationship with him, needs are satisfied (or a reduction in need satisfaction is prevented). The leader may promise a chicken in every pot, a glorious future, or more money for less work. If the group member sees satisfaction of needs in the direction the leader indicates, if he believes the leader will serve as a means for getting those satisfactions, the group member follows. On the other hand, the leader may say "follow me, or disaster may befall you," "follow me, or I'll see to it that you rue the day you refuse," "follow me or else. . . ." Again if the group member believes that the leader controls the relevant means, if the group member sees a threat to his available means in failing to go in the directions the leader indicates, the group member follows. The individual then is related to the leader as a means to need satisfaction or as a means to protect available means from reduction. He follows and permits his activities to be directed because he believes that to do so will get him what he wants.

Question 3

Why does the leader arise?

Even in the simplest situation, such as when a group embarks on discussion which will eventuate in a decision of some sort, a leader seems to be essential. Operationally, it is difficult for a group to speak or act except through an individual member. If everyone talks at once, no one can hear or attend. If everyone plans at once, or acts at once without a plan, there is no group but rather a collection of individuals planning or acting. For the group to act as a unit or to show organization, it is necessary that individual members speak for it. The necessity for an ordering of discussion is readily apparent as a means to a group. Such ordering must come through the action of an individual. Someone must verbalize the necessity for order, the methods of ordering, the final agreement on methods, and the agent. Some individual must order and in doing so he provides simple but necessary means for the group. Even at this very simple level, the necessity for a leader is real and apparent to most groups. To the extent that the objectives of the group require greater diversity of effort and greater coordination, the need for a leader will increase.

Now let us look at the leader and ask some questions about his behavior. Let us again answer the questions in terms of our frame of reference and examine the answers for the sense they make.

Question 4

How is the leader to be characterized?

The leader is not a disembodied entity endowed with unique characteristics. He is the leader of a group and is the leader only in terms of his functional relationship to the group. Therefore the part he plays in the total dynamic pattern of the behavior of the group defines him as leader. He is a leader not because he is intelligent, skillful or original, but because his intelligence, skill or originality is seen as a means by the group members. He is a leader not because he is relatively imposing of stature, well-dressed, fluent of speech, or from a higher socio-economic background, but because these factors tend to predispose group members to expect better means from their possessor.

The leader is followed because he promises to get or actually gets his followers more nearly what they want than anyone else. If he does so, he will be followed be he small, insignificant looking and relatively speechless. In our culture we have some predisposition to expect people with certain characteristics to provide better means. Also certain characteristics such as intelligence may by and large in fact enable certain individuals to provide better means. However, the leader is a product not of his characteristics, but of his functional relationship to specific individuals in a specific situation. As a result, the variability of leaders' characteristics upsets all but the broadest statistical efforts at analysis.

Question 5

How does the leader arise?

The leader appears to arise in one of two ways. First, as a result of agreement among members of a group that some individual serves as better means than any other. Such agreement may be wholly predictive, a matter of guesswork, or may be the result of experience among various members. The agreement of the members of a group may be verbalized or tacit. The member of a group who suggests "Let's go get a cup of coffee" may collect a following and for a minute or so be a leader simply because he has voiced at an instant an operation which appears as a means to other members. The member of a group who is known to possess some special skill which is at the moment a necessity may be turned to and be expected to function as a leader because of his possession. In our culture it is not unusual for any group to make it first a business to choose a leader.

The second way in which a leader may arise is as a result of objectives which require a group of people for their achievement. An individual, for example, wants to accomplish something which can only be accomplished if he can direct the activities of a number of other people. He seeks then to find a group, or an assortment of individuals, who will accept his direction of their activities. If our basic assumptions above are correct, he will acquire

"followers" only if, *in their eyes*, following him promises to result in increased need satisfaction (or in avoidance of reduction of need satisfaction).

Question 6

Why does the leader lead?

Through leading, the leader obtains means of satisfying his needs. Perhaps he finds satisfaction in the operation of leading, in manipulating people or in helping them. Perhaps the prestige and recognition accorded the leader are important sources of satisfaction. Or, to take the most obvious aspect, perhaps the result of the activities he directs is itself the means he seeks.

Consider, for example, the industrial manager. He may obtain satisfaction from his leadership role in a variety of ways. He may obtain satisfaction simply from being "the boss," from being able to tell people what to do, to control their activities and their satisfactions. He may find satisfaction in being regarded as their benefactor, in their gratitude for his favors, or their fear of his punishments. He may enjoy the way he is treated by those outside the organization who are impressed with his title and position. Finally, he may obtain a higher salary, promotion, and recognition from achievements of the group whose activities he directs.

The motivation of the individual certainly plays a part in the likelihood of his leading. Many adults seem to dislike to lead. Others lead occasionally when, by reason of some special skill or knowledge they possess, it seems to them or to the group reasonable that they should do so. Some lead only when through the concerted activities of a group of people they can find a means to some need satisfaction. Still others enjoy leading. The actual operation of leading is a means to need satisfaction for them. Such individuals are apt to seek situations in which whatever means they have will be in demand. They attempt to acquire the skills which will be means, and a manner which will indicate their possession of means. If there are "born leaders," they arise from this group. Due to the many objectives in our culture which can only be achieved through group effort, many organizations arise. A great many people find leading—that is the job of a superior in an organization—to be the means through which they satisfy important needs.

Question 7

What is the function of the leader?

The function of the leader is to organize the activities of the members of the group toward the accomplishment of some end through controlling means for the satisfaction of the relevant needs of the members of the group. When the leader has been chosen by a group of people who have decided upon an objective to be attained, the leader's function is obvious and his job is relatively simple. When the leader, however, is not chosen by the group, but appointed and given means control by someone outside the group, or appoints himself because he requires a group to achieve his purposes (as in business or military organizations), his job is considerably more difficult. In such circumstances the objective to be attained through the activities of the group is

the objective of those who appointed him leader. This may not be the objective of the group he is to lead. Nevertheless, he must appear to the people he is to lead as a means for *their* need satisfaction or they will not accept his direction.

Sometimes, as a consequence, the appointed leader is an individual who would never have been chosen by the group he leads, but one who cannot be rejected because he controls important means for need satisfaction. He is "accepted" as the lesser evil. He appears to the group as a means only in the negative sense. Nevertheless, even in such extreme cases, the leadership function remains the same.

Question 8

Can all of the various kinds of leaders be accounted for by this same frame of reference?

The term "leader" is certainly used to designate many different positions and functions. It may be used to indicate a figurehead, a position in an organization, a self-appointed dictator possessed of sufficient "or else" power to force a following, or an individual who has been designated as leader by voluntary action of the group. To cut through the diverse usage which has been made of the term "leader," we might say that to the extent that any individual succeeds in collecting an actual following, he does so because he controls means. The dictator may be followed because he has created or made use of a situation in which all alternatives to following him are less desirable as means. The superior in the formal organization, for instance in industry, may often occupy a position similar to that of dictator without being particularly aware of it. The man who can control means available to other people can use his control to force that alternative behavior which appears a better means within the restricted choice although a worse one within a larger but forbidden frame of reference. To the extent that the means controlled are scarce means, to that extent the possibility of limiting alternatives as a means of control is possible. The leader chosen by voluntary action of a group is seen as the best means rather than the lesser evil. But all leaders, whatever their personal objectives, must serve as means for their followers, or they will not be leaders (i.e., they will have no followers).

Our conclusions from the above discussion of the nature of leadership may be summarized as follows:

1. The symbolic or romantic conception of the Leader, although widely prevalent, does not explain the phenomena of leadership. It exists, I have suggested, as a consequence of the nature of the individual's relationship with his father in early childhood. It represents a magical, perhaps wishful, attempt to find security through surrogate relationships resembling that early one. The leader, realistically and factually, is not a person endowed with a list of characteristics which make him what he is.

2. When conceived in terms of the dynamics of human social behavior,

leadership is a function of needs existing in a given situation, and consists of a relationship between an individual and a group.

3. The functional relationship which is leadership exists when a leader is perceived by a group as controlling means for the satisfaction of their needs. Following him may be seen either as a means to increased need satisfaction or as a means to prevent decreased need satisfaction.

4. The leader may "emerge" as a means to the achievement of objectives desired by a group. He may be selected, elected, or spontaneously accepted by the group because he possesses or controls means (skill, knowledge, money, associations, property, etc.) which the group desires to utilize to attain their objectives—to obtain increased need satisfaction.

5. On the other hand, the leader may appoint himself or be appointed by someone outside the group to be led. In this instance leadership is a means to the achievement of the leader's objectives (or the objectives of those who appoint him). However, there will be no relationship with the group—no followers—except in terms of the leader's control of means for the satisfaction of the needs of the followers. Either the leader's objectives must also be those of the group (and he himself be seen by the group as a means to their attainment), or else accepting the leader's direction must be seen by the group members as the best available means to prevent reduced need satisfaction.

In business and industry, the leader is of the "appointed" (sometimes "self-appointed") kind. The members of management are not selected by the group they are to lead, but are appointed by those higher in management (or by owners) to achieve the objectives for which the business was created. There are some very special problems faced by the leader in such a situation, as will be apparent from the discussion above. It is my purpose to examine this kind of leadership in industry in more detail in the following pages.

The group of people comprising an industrial organization is not a group which has arisen to achieve an objective common to all its members. The owners, or the managers, have recruited a number of isolated individuals—created a group—because the combined efforts of many people are required to achieve the *owners'* objectives.

People become members of an industrial organization, and accept direction of their activities by the manager-leader, because to do so offers the best of the alternative means for need satisfaction. In our culture it is necessary for most people to have a job in order to live satisfactorily.

We usually feel that the individual is free to work or not, and free to choose his employer. Under any but extremely unusual conditions, however, these choices are not "free." The alternative to working is a serious curtailment of need satisfaction for most people—so serious usually that it is not even perceived as an alternative.

Moreover, alternative possibilities of employment are extremely limited for most people most of the time. Jobs are seldom easy to get, and the per-

quisites which one obtains through seniority built up with one employer represent important potentialities of need satisfaction which must be sacrificed if one seeks other employment. The "labor market" which exists in the perception of the average worker or clerk includes a narrow list of feasible alternatives indeed.

As a consequence, the relationship of the manager-leader in industry to his employees is frequently one in which: (1) his objectives are not their objectives, and (2) the relationship is maintained and the employees accept his direction of their activities only because to do otherwise would in their eyes represent a serious reduction in need satisfaction.

Within this context, let us examine the alternative methods which the manager-leader may utilize to organize the activities of people and direct them toward organizational objectives. Briefly, there appear to be four. We break them down for purposes of description; in actuality they are seldom, if ever, seen in such purity.

1. The leader may direct the activities of people through his control of scarce means by forcing a choice of means the alternative to which is lesser means or none at all.

The manager in industry is clearly in such a position when jobless men are plentiful, when jobs are scarce and jobs are the only means to survival. He is also in such a position when an employee knows that to be fired is to be blacklisted by other employers. As we have seen, even under ordinary labor market conditions he is still in this position to some degree because the worker is seldom in a position to know that he can find another equally satisfactory job immediately. In all three cases the manager controls scarce means which may be better means only because the alternative means are restricted.

The manager utilizing this method directs the activities of his subordinates chiefly by holding over their heads the threat of dismissal if they do not accept his direction. It is an interesting fact that "insubordination" is one of the cardinal sins of industry. Under most labor agreements, the worker can be fired summarily for insubordinate behavior. Reinstatement in cases of this kind, even when the most militant labor unions are involved, are rare today.

The formula for leadership of this kind is: "Do what I say, or else. . . ." To be sure, it is seldom stated as badly as this, but it is implicit in the relationship and clearly recognized by leader and "followers." Successful use of this method obviously requires a situation in which the manager controls many important means, and his subordinates control few.⁹ Even then, of course, the leader faces the indirect protective and aggressive consequences of the frustration he engenders. Restriction of output, subtle forms of "sabotage," or militant unionism are frequent consequences.

2. The leader may attempt to provide adequate means for the need satis-

⁹ The frustration of managers who, during the lush war years, found their means control drastically reduced pointed up rather sharply their reliance on this method of leadership. By 1945 many of them were wishfully talking about the return of normalcy when there would be more people than jobs and they would be "in the saddle" once more.

faction of his subordinates, in the hope that they will accept his direction of their activities out of gratitude and loyalty.

This is commonly termed "paternalism." The leader attempts to use his means control in a positive rather than a negative manner. His own objectives (which include organizational objectives) are not those of his subordinates, but he attempts to win their support by aiding them in achieving their objectives.

Historically, this method has been more successful than the first, "or else," method. There are two inherent difficulties, however. One is that the paternalistic approach is by its very nature limited in the kinds of means it can provide. The follower is necessarily put in the position of being the recipient of the leader's benevolences. He cannot achieve independence; he is always in the leader's debt.

At times this type of relationship becomes intolerable to people. They resent being the "children" of a paternalistic leader. There have been several particularly violent "revolts" in paternalistic industrial organization, stemming apparently from exactly this kind of resentment.¹⁰

The other difficulty is that paternalism operates in violation of the psychological law of effect. Instead of arranging so that efforts directed toward organizational goals result in increased means for need satisfaction, the paternalistic leader provides the means, and expects the efforts to follow. Minimum "get-by" performance, minimum acceptance of direction, plus an expectation of constantly increasing means are the natural psychological consequences of the Santa Clause-like method of leadership.

The formula for leadership of this kind is: "Do what I say because I am good to you." Implied is the further element: "If you don't do what I say, I will not be good to you."

3. The leader may direct the activities of people as a result of a bargain, in which he agrees to provide them with certain means in return for which they agree to permit the direction of their activities within certain specified limits.

This is a common situation in industry today. Management bargains with the union. Each controls means and each enters into an agreement providing for exchange of means. Through such an agreement the manager-leader obtains the right to direct within limits the activities of people who to that extent become his followers.

The difference between this and the first two methods is chiefly characterized by the freedom of choice possible to the follower. Such freedom is relative, of course, and a matter of the perceptual field of the individual. When bargaining is carried on in good faith in a relationship of mutual confidence, the followers' dependence upon the manager-leader is much less than in either the "or else" situation or the paternalistic situation. Of course, this is just the "or else" situation or the paternalistic situation. Of course, this is just another way of saying that the leader's power (means control) is relatively reduced.

¹⁰ An interesting example is cited in *Dynamics of Industrial Democracy*, by Clinton Golden and Harold Ruttenberg (New York: Harpers, 1942), pp. 13-17.

The formula for this type of leadership is: "Let us agree that you will do as I say in certain respects, in return for which I will do what you want in certain other respects." Implied by each party is: "If you don't agree, I will prevent you from attaining your objectives."

4. The leader may create conditions such that the objectives he seeks and the objectives his subordinates seek have something in common. Then the direction of their activities becomes to both a "mutual means" for the achievement of his objectives and theirs as well. The activities of the people in achieving their objectives are at the same time the activities the leader desires from them so he can achieve his objectives.

This method of leadership in industry is often talked about but seldom approached in practice. The usual attempt by management is to convince workers by words—by propaganda—that they and management have common objectives. The real problem, however, is at the level of action and not of words. The leader must create conditions such that the people discover through actual experience the mutuality of objectives. Then, and then only, will the leader be encouraged by his followers to direct their activities.

Some of the situations described by Golden and Ruttenberg¹¹ involve leadership of this fourth kind. Joseph Scanlon, a former associate of Golden and now on the M.I.T. staff, has been experimenting with the development of "cost reduction sharing" plans which are based on this method.¹² In certain respects, James F. Lincoln has successfully created these conditions in the Lincoln Electric Company at Cleveland. A few other daring industrialists are exploring this frontier of human relations in industry.

As applied so far in industry, this method seems to require implementation along two lines. First, there must be a plan which enables the group of workers, as a group, to obtain increased means for need satisfaction from efforts directed toward organizational goals. The monetary means thus obtainable must be clearly, simply, and directly related to achievement, and they must represent a common objective.¹³ Equally important to the monetary return are means for the satisfaction of less tangible needs such as those for knowledge, development, participation, recognition, achievement, status.

The second requirement is to provide the opportunity for satisfaction of these social and egoistic needs. Some formal machinery is necessary by which workers, through representative committees, can meet with management to find solutions to all the problems of more efficient operation of the enterprise. It is through this device, also, that the mutuality of objectives can become a reality.

¹¹ Golden and Ruttenberg, *op. cit.*

¹² Joseph N. Scanlon, "Anderson and His Profit-Sharing Plan," *A.M.A. Production Series No. 172*, 1947. (See also, Russell W. Davenport, "Enterprise for Everyman" [Lapointe Tool Co.], *Fortune*, January, 1950, and W. F. Whyte, "Incentives and Productivity: The Case of the Bundy Tubing Company," in this volume, pp. 269-300.—Editor.)

¹³ It is in this respect that most "profit-sharing" plans fail, since the group's achievement often has little directly to do with the amount of profit earned by the company.

Leadership of this fourth kind is frequently perceived by managers as involving a tremendous loss of power and control. They feel they would sacrifice their "rights" to direct the activities of their subordinates. Because of the emotional nature of this reliance on personal power in many instances, it is difficult to convince such managers of the incorrectness of their belief. To be sure, they would lose their personal illusion of control in the narrow sense. Moreover, they would be forced to take realistic account of the needs of their subordinates.¹⁴

However, this method has two positive consequences of tremendous importance. First, because it substitutes the possibility of increased need satisfaction, of many kinds, for the negative fear of reduced need satisfaction, it results in genuine motivation toward organizational objectives. The negative consequences of the first two methods, and of many examples of the third—restriction of output, sabotage, hostility, resistance to change, etc.—vanish into air because their causes are removed. Second, this method taps the resources of the whole group. The successful leader of this kind soon discovers the tremendous potentialities for problem solving, for cost reduction, for improved methods, which remain largely latent in the group under other methods of leadership.

Actually, because this method most closely approximates the "natural" relationship of functional leadership, it gives the leader, in the end, more rather than less control. His followers perceive him as a positive means to increased need satisfaction; instead of resenting his direction of their activities or accepting it passively, they seek it and encourage it. Reliance on personal power seldom if ever yields this result.

Certainly the phenomenal results obtained by those industrial leaders who have honestly attempted to use this method provide some evidence that the apparent "loss of control" is more than offset by the increased means obtained by leader and followers alike. Our belief is that explorations along this frontier will ultimately demonstrate that past conceptions of leadership have led to a considerable underestimation of the potentialities of organized group effort.

Now let us consider one further aspect of the problem faced by the appointed leader, the leader who by reason of his position in an organization has control of means, whose job it is to direct the activities of his subordinates toward the goals of the organization. In industry he earns his living by leading. He is supposed to be a leader. He is exhorted and implored to lead. He takes training courses in leading. Yet in far too many cases he does not appear to be very successful. His followers don't like him and he does not like to be a leader. He commonly regrets that he must accomplish his objectives through people and longs for a mechanical setup which will not depend on people for its success. Lacking security in his ability as a

¹⁴ It is perhaps this which lies behind the currently fashionable exhortation to industrial management to acquire a greater sense of "social responsibility."

leader, he tends to depend to an ever greater degree on power, means control, management "rights," and he prays for economic conditions which will give him the whip hand, which will limit alternate choice of means for employees. What is the dilemma of such appointed leaders?

In terms of our frame of reference, there are four methods which a leader may use for directing the activities of people:

1. *Force*—the leader uses his control of means to force the choice of certain activities which he desires as means. The alternative to following him is reduction of need satisfaction.

2. *Paternalism*—the leader provides means, and hopes for acceptance of his leadership out of loyalty and gratitude.

3. *Bargain*—the leader may arrive at a bargain, a more or less voluntary choice, made by each party to furnish certain means in return for certain means.

4. *Mutual means*—the leader creates the situation in which certain activities of his and of the group, if performed together, will serve as mutual means, means for each to satisfy their own (perhaps different) needs.

The appointed leader, however, is not free to choose among these methods. To a greater or less extent the method is prescribed by the policy of the organization in which he leads. In general today in industrial organizations the method lies somewhere in the region between force and bargaining. The initial concept of leadership in industry seems to have been that of force. Paternalism enjoyed popularity for many years among some managers; it is generally frowned upon but widely practiced today. The rise of unions made possible the opposition of force to force and created the necessity for bargaining.

Today bargaining is the common method used by management to obtain direction of those activities necessary to management's objectives. The appointed leader, endowed with such management "prerogatives"—means control—as management has been able to salvage at the bargaining table, is expected to lead. What leading means will depend on the attitude of his top management and its policy. The frame of reference within which he must lead has been established over a considerable period and is fixed in the attitudes of his subordinates as well as his superiors. Yet he is exhorted to be a good leader; he is trained to use this or that technique; his effectiveness is examined through morale surveys. He is prompted to be tough, to be fair, to use consultative supervision but to retain management rights. The dilemma of the appointed leader is simply that he must succeed as a leader despite the fact that he cannot control the conditions in terms of which he leads.

The essence of leadership lies in the functional relationship between leader and followers. When the conditions of the relationship are established not by the leader but by the policy of the organization, and when that policy favors the "or else" method, or paternalism, or a grudging and hostile bargaining method, the leader is on the spot. He appears to be on the spot in many cases today in industry. In fact, the methods of force and bargaining

seem to be somewhat on the spot also. Although force can be used to control the activities of people, it engenders opposing force, and if often defeats its own purpose.

The method of bargaining backed by force is beginning to seem inadequate even to those who cannot conceive of an alternative. When bargaining rests on mutual respect and force has dropped out, the situation is not too bad. In such cases the mutuality of means which exists, although tenuous, becomes more apparent. "The greater the profits of the company, the larger the cut to labor" idea.

From there to the fourth method is not too impossible a step, although it requires skill, understanding and imagination of a very high order. When management successfully creates the necessary conditions, the organization and its objective become a means not only to management but also to labor. Through this mutual means each satisfies needs. A leader in this situation is a man whose direction of activities is an effective aid for all concerned to attain their objectives. Under such circumstances, the dilemma of the appointed leader disappears.

Finally, what about the moral aspects of leadership? Has the administrator a right to employ his skill and knowledge in group organizational theory to influence people to do as he wishes? The following selection deals with this problem.

THE MORAL ASPECT OF GROUP LEADERSHIP

A. John Bartky

ANY SUPERVISION organization which holds to democratic ideals is democratic no matter what its structure may be or what mechanisms it employs. A supervisor-dominated group can be more democratic than a supervisor-teacher dominated group if the leadership of the former is imbued with democratic idealism and the leadership of the latter is materialistic and employs the tricks of the Sophists.

Any group, other than a laissez-faire one, is dominated by some one individual for a period of time. In the supervisor-dominated group this domination might persist a few minutes longer than in the supervisor-teacher dominated group, but the latter is as much a dominated group as the former. Hence the name "supervisor-teacher dominated group." As a matter of fact,

SOURCE: From *Supervision as Human Relations* by A. John Bartky, pp. 202-204. Copyright © 1953 by D. C. Heath and Company. Reprinted by permission of D. C. Heath and Company.

the so-called democratic group when it falls into the control of aggressive, selfish teachers becomes much more of an autocracy than any supervisor-dominated group could ever become. No supervisor could hold his position very long and employ the methods some teachers employ when they gain power.

The author fears that because of the emphasis placed upon the so-called democratic-group process other group techniques which are necessary to adequate supervision will be neglected. Large school systems are common. Hence long-range group supervision is at times necessary. Furthermore, in times when there are large numbers of inexperienced teachers, teacher growth can frequently be more economically achieved by direct instruction of teachers than by hit or miss interaction in small group activity. A group composed of unsophisticated, ignorant teachers might interact indefinitely without teaching one another anything of significance.

As the reader progresses through this text, he is probably becoming more and more aware of the fact that the definition of the activities of a supervisor correspond to those of any leader. In fact a supervisor is a leader whose primary goal for leadership is the improvement of instruction.

The techniques described have been leadership techniques. The leader studies the drives of his followers and employs techniques which use these to best advantage. But leadership is of many kinds. What kind of leader shall the supervisor be? What shall be the ethics for his leadership?

Leadership may be attained through fear. We can cite all kinds of instances both in the past and the present where the leader held his followers and encouraged them to achieve goals by threatening their security. But the leader who employs fear does not ignore the motivations used by other leaders. He also uses flattery, he rewards, he manipulates aggression and submission drives, and he appeals to individuals' desire for religious experience to get persons to do his bidding. On the other hand, even the democratic leader whom we all revere employs fear at times to coerce a belligerent and noncooperating minority.

Leadership may also be obtained through personal magnetism. Although Hitler used fear to get Germans to follow him, it is likely that the hypnotic effect of his personality was even more potent. We have spellbinders even in the educational field. These same spellbinders might get teachers to do things that are in the interest of improving their instruction. Is this desirable leadership?

If one were to master the human relations techniques suggested herein, he would have at his command a weapon far more dangerous than the atomic bomb. He would know how to manipulate people to achieve any end. Thus we seem to be in the midst of a dilemma. No one can supervise properly unless he knows how to care for teachers' needs. Yet one who can care for teachers' needs is in a position to control teachers to a point where education is menaced. If he is unsophisticated in matters of education, or if he has selfish goals, he might become a danger to our entire school structure.

Let us illustrate. Mr. Frank is superintendent of schools. He knows all

the devices for stimulating a group of teachers to do his bidding. Has he a right to employ this skill to achieve his ends even though these ends be in the interest of the children?

The answer lies not so much in the ends as it does in his means to achieve these ends. He has no right to influence a teacher by any other means than by intellectual persuasion. Persuasion is the method of democratic decision and as long as the schools operate in a democracy, it is the only legitimate approach open to a supervisor.

However, let us suppose that the teachers are in an emotional state where they cannot be persuaded—a state where their bigotries dictate their behavior—and that this is undesirable behavior. When this is so, the supervisor has a right and an obligation to employ such techniques as he has available to bring the emotional pattern of the teachers to the level where they can consider the situation intellectually rather than emotionally. Society trusts the supervisor to be the judge as to when that state is reached and thereby places a tremendous responsibility upon him. If he feels that it is necessary to employ means which will bring the teachers in line with good practice, he alone is the one qualified to select what means he should employ.

The democratic process is both a means and an end to achieve democratic ideals. As the supervisor selects his means he must always check to see whether they are consistent with the ideals of the significance of the individual and the worthwhileness of his contribution. So also with his goals. He must never, however, fall into the trap of assuming that his problem is a simple one. Far more damage has been done to education by those who feel that they have the solution to what is the democratic process and have imposed it upon the schools than by those who have ignored the problem. The supervisor who makes a contribution is the one who strives for democracy knowing full well that he will never completely achieve it.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Discuss how leaders in your community arrive at positions of leadership. What human or situational factors seem to be most influential in determining their leadership potential?
2. Describe in your own words what leadership means to you. Discuss with the class the nature of leadership, the difficulties in communicating about it, and the problems related to locating, preparing, and inducting potential leaders.
3. What is the importance of each of the following to leader effectiveness: (a) the individual; (b) the followers; and (c) the conditions?
4. What is the role of psychology, especially traitist psychology, in the development of our conceptions about "leadership"?
5. Discuss the differences between our present concepts of "traditional" leadership and the "emerging" concept, with particular attention to (a) the philosophy of relationship between the leader and the followers; (b) the focus of authority; (c) external versus internal motivations; and (d) the essentials of evaluation of the leadership function.

6. What common elements does educational leadership have with leadership in business, industry, military, or hospital administration? In what ways is it different?

7. Give examples of each of the four methods which a leader may use for directing the activities of people, as explained by Knickerbocker: (a) force; (b) paternalism; (c) bargaining; and (d) mutual means. What determines the approach to be used in each case?

8. Discuss *power*, as defined by Knickerbocker. Do you agree with his definition?

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CHAPTER 5

The Traits Approach

A trait may be defined as a quality of mind, a characteristic, feature, property, or distinguishing mark which differentiates one person from another. Early writings in school administration contained references to certain "leadership traits," or qualities of the leader which distinguished the leader from the followers. Such qualities were at first thought to be intrinsic; they were inherent in the leader and in him alone. One might gather from these earlier writings that such traits are inborn, and are peculiarly the *possession* of the leader. Traits such as common sense, love of fair play, endurance, courage, and stamina were expected of the leader, and without them he could not succeed. One difficulty, of course, was measuring the extent of such traits, assuming they existed in measurable quantities. Another difficulty was to assess to what extent some traits were the *sine qua non* of successful administration, without which one might never succeed in educational administration. Although the above may be an oversimplification, nevertheless the traits (or nouns) approach dominated early thinking in school administration, in contrast to the behavior (or verbs) approach in vogue today.

One of the early works (on traits as applied to school administration) was the contribution of Ellwood P. Cubberley. Lacking research verification, Cubberley nonetheless empirically described the personal qualities which one must possess to fill the important post of school superintendent. The following selection on the "qualities of leadership" is illustrative of the early forms of generalization about success in school administration.

THE SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

Ellwood P. Cubberley

A NEW PROFESSION

AS WE look back over almost a full century during which the office of superintendent of city schools has been in existence, a few names stand out with particular prominence as men who have laid—often against tremendous obstacles, often in conflict and contest to the end of their careers, and often by the sacrifice of much that men hold dear—the foundation principles of the new work to which they gave the best years of their lives. Doing a pioneer work, and often misunderstood and unappreciated by those with whom they labored, these men patiently blazed a trail for others to follow. As one of these trail blazers well put it,¹ “each traveled the trail at his own gait, with rations and blanket only, and never knowing, though caring much, where each year’s tramping would end.” Out of this developmental period of trial, conflict, discussion, and experimentation, a profession of school supervision has at last been evolved.

School supervision represents a new profession, and one which will play an increasingly important part in the development of our American life. In pecuniary, social, professional, and personal rewards it ranks with the other learned professions, while the call for city school superintendents of the right type is to-day greater than the call for lawyers, doctors, ministers, or engineers. The opportunities offered in this new profession to men of strong character, broad sympathies, high purposes, fine culture, courage, exact training, and executive skill, who are willing to take the time and spend the energy necessary to prepare themselves for large service, are to-day not excelled in any of the professions, learned or otherwise. No profession offers such large personal rewards, for the opportunity of living one’s life in moulding other lives, and in helping to improve materially the intellectual tone and the moral character of a community, offers a personal reward that makes a peculiarly strong appeal to certain fine types of men and women.

Despite inadequate rewards in the past, this new profession has for long attracted to it many of the best minds of the Nation, men fully informed as to what the rising generation may become and dedicated to the service of trying to realize possibilities. Within recent years there has been a much larger realization, on the part of the public, of the importance of the office

¹ A. Gove: “The Trail of the City Superintendent,” in *Proceedings, N.E.A.*, 1900, p. 215.

of school superintendent, and in many cities to-day the head of the school system is the best paid and best respected official in the pay of the community. To attract the best minds to the educational service, though, there should be offered here a chance to attain some of the distinguishing marks of success which mark other professional callings.

IMPORTANCE OF THIS OFFICIAL

Potentially, at least, the most important officer in the employ of the people of any municipality to-day is the person who directs the organization and administration of its school system, and who supervises the instruction given therein. Actually, the condition frequently is otherwise, but where the superintendent of schools is of the type he should be he² renders a service the importance of which, in terms of character and future citizenship, is not approached by that of any other official in the employ of a municipality. In popular estimation the mayor, the president of the city council, the chief of police, or the head of the fire department may occupy more important positions, but the far-reaching character of the services of a capable and energetic superintendent of schools transcends in importance any of these.

What the schools are in organization, administration, instruction, spirit, and purpose, and the position which they occupy in the eyes of the community, they are largely as the result of the actions, labors, manliness, courage, clear vision, clean living, and common-sense of the superintendent of schools. About him and his work the schools revolve, and it is largely he who makes or mars the system. What he is, the schools, under proper administrative conditions, become; what he is not, they often plainly show.

LARGE DUTIES OF THE OFFICE

His is the central office in the school system, up to which and down from which authority, direction, and inspiration flow. He is the organizer and director of the work of the schools in all of their different phases, and the representative of the schools and all for which the schools stand before the people of the community. He is the executive officer of the school board, and also its eyes, and ears, and brains. He is the supervisor of the instruction in the schools, and also the leader, adviser, inspirer, and friend of the teachers, and between them and the board of education he must, at times, interpose as an arbiter. Amid all his various duties, however, the interests of the children in the schools must be his chief care, and the larger educational interests of the community as a whole he must keep constantly in mind.

The position of superintendent of schools in a modern city, if properly filled, is a full man's job, and calls for the best that is in a strong, capable,

² Here, as elsewhere throughout this book, the masculine form is used, and for the simple reason that nearly all of our city superintendents are men. What is said, however, is equally applicable to women.

well-trained, and mature man. It is a position for which a young man ought to be willing to spend many years in hard and painstaking preparation. To be able to obtain a small superintendency at thirty, and a large and important position at forty, is about what a young man desiring to prepare for the work should be content to expect. It is a position for which years of careful preparation should be made, and, given equal native ability, the more careful has been the preparation the larger is likely to be the ultimate success.

Perhaps it may not be out of place, at this point, to turn from the problems of school administration proper and devote the remainder of this chapter to a description of the professional preparation which a young man, desiring to prepare for school superintendency work, should make to-day; the type of professional experience he should acquire; and the kind of personal qualities he ought to expect to bring to the work. The following may be taken to represent a minimum professional preparation, if any large future success is to be expected.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

In the first place a good college education may be considered as an absolute essential for future work, and at least a year of graduate study, doing advanced work in the study of educational problems, is practically a necessity now. Men of large grasp and ability should not stop here, but, after a few years of practical experience, should go on and obtain their doctorate.

The exact nature of the preliminary preparation is perhaps less important than that it should be good, and that it should challenge the best efforts of the student, awaken worthy ambitions, and stimulate the development of a high ideal of service. The preparation should be broad, and should early open up to the student permanent interests in fields of music and art, literature, history, science, economics, and human welfare. These he needs for breadth and understanding. His future success as the head of a school system will to a rather large degree depend upon his intelligent understanding of the scientific and industrial world about him, his broad human sympathies, and his ability to meet people of culture and refinement on their own plane.

In addition to this preliminary and general preparation the student needs to superimpose a technical preparation in educational theory, and a practical preparation in actual school practice. As early as the sophomore years, certainly not later than the junior, a brief introductory course on the place, purpose, and nature of public education, and an introduction to educational theory, can be taken with advantage. In the junior and senior years this should be followed with courses which give a good general introduction to the different fields of educational theory, history, administration, and practice. The graduate years should be devoted largely to advanced courses, and to the careful working-out of some special problem in educational theory or practice. What is desired is a good introduction to the different fields and to the literature of education, and some practice in the methods by which educational problems are solved.

THE YEARS OF APPRENTICESHIP

All of this is merely preliminary, however. On top of this the candidate must now spend his apprenticeship and period of preliminary practice in his profession.³ The three to five years which he now spends in teaching or in serving as a school principal ought to be years when he more than doubles the effectiveness of his general and professional collegiate preparation. If necessary to avoid falling into a rut, or getting a poor or one-sided experience, he should move about during this period. If the salary does not seem large enough to cover both married life and study, he should for a time resolutely put marriage aside.

During these years he should save as much time as possible for careful reading and study along the lines of his future profession. Above all, during these years, he should gradually crystallize for himself a working educational philosophy, to guide him in his future work and to vitalize all his later procedure. He must seize intelligent hold of the conception that education stands for the higher evolution of both the individual and the race, and he must relegate to their proper place in the educational scheme all of the details of organization, administration, and school supervision. Without such a guiding conception administrative work soon becomes dull and fruitless routine, and the supervision of instruction a mechanical and uninteresting procedure.

LEARNING AND WORKING

He should now accumulate a good working library along the line of his major interests. He should keep closely in touch, too, with all advancements and important experiments in his field, and with what other workers elsewhere are doing. He should welcome new school tasks, making himself as professionally useful as possible, and taking a deep personal satisfaction in doing difficult things. He should give himself good practice in developing an ability to speak well and easily, and to write clearly and convincingly. He should mix some with practical men of affairs, from whom he can learn much that will be very useful to him later on. If the opportunity offers to join a discussion club, especially if composed of men older and more mature than himself, he should embrace the chance. He may even lead in the formation of such a club himself. He should read biography, and study and try to imitate the best traits of the successful men he has come to know, both in literature and real life. Often some old doctor, or banker, or lawyer in the community will prove worthy of some close personal study.

He should, during this period, keep himself free from all practices, en-

³ This period of apprenticeship, which we may assume to be spent in a school principalship, involves the mastery of most of the details of school organization and administration as applied to a single school. What constitutes this work forms the subject matter of another book in this series, on *The Principal and His School*.

tanglements, clubs, and especially local social obligations, which are wasteful of time and energy and have in them little that is of permanent profit. He must, during these years, willingly accept work and burdens which lead toward his desired goal, and resolutely reject those which do not. He should know and remember that the habit of hard and faithful work is one that is established but slowly, that it requires close watching of one's pole star to establish it, and that it is not fully established in most men until they are somewhere near thirty or thirty-five years of age. He should also know and remember that it takes about thirty-five or forty years of hard and faithful work to get ready to do something really large in life.

Rightly used, a half-dozen years after graduation can be spent, with great future advantage, in subordinate positions in the practical field.

DANGEROUS PITFALLS

It is during these years, however, that many a promising young man goes to pieces, so far as any large later usefulness in educational work is concerned. His college training gave him some feeling of mastery; he was trained there to do difficult things with some ease. When he goes to some smaller community he soon finds it unnecessary to work as he has done before. He also lacks the constant stimulus to sustained effort. Excepting a few lawyers and a few doctors, he is already one of the best educated men in the small city. His position, perhaps a principalship, gives him at once a special standing in the community. The people naturally look up to him as a man of more than ordinary training and importance. On the streets the men call him "Professor," and pretty grade teachers and women with marriageable daughters seek him out, and flatter his vanity. His daily work in superintending women and children, who usually accept his pronouncements as law, perhaps gives him an added importance in his own eyes. The presidency of societies or clubs adds further to his local importance.

He soon finds, when he speaks to mothers' meetings and at church affairs, and often even to fellow teachers, that he does not need to think carefully or to have anything of real value to say. He begins to feel his local importance; he begins to take life easily at least twenty years before he has earned the right; he ceases to read and study the problems of his work; he falls in with the local social life; and he gradually loses sight of the more distant goal he once set out to reach. Spoiled by too easy, too small, and too early successes, in a decade or less his possible usefulness for large work elsewhere has about reached the vanishing point.

PERSONAL QUALITIES NECESSARY

While good training and experience are of fundamental importance to the man who wishes to prepare for educational leadership, certain personal qualities must be added to both if any large success is to be achieved. The man who would be a superintendent of schools—the educational leader of a city—

must be clean, both in person and mind; he must be temperate, both in speech and act; he must be honest and square, and able to look men straight in the eye; and he must be possessed of a high sense of personal honor. He needs a good time-sense to enable him to save time and to transact business with dispatch, and a good sense of proportion to enable him to see things in their proper place and relationship. He must have the manners and courtesy of a gentleman, without being flabby or weak. He must not be affected by a desire to stand in the community limelight, or to talk unnecessarily about his own accomplishments. He must avoid oracularism, the solemnity and dignity of an owl, and not the uncommon tendency to lay down the law. A good sense of humor will be found a means of saving grace here, and will many times keep him from taking himself too seriously.

He must be alert, and able to get things done. This demands a good understanding of common human nature, some personal force, and some genuine political skill. He must know when and how to speak, but especially when and how to keep silent; when to answer some local attack—briefly, courteously, and with facts, and when to ignore the attack and keep still. He must know when and how to take the public into his confidence, and when not to tell what he desires or intends to do. He must know how to accept success without vainglory, and defeat without being embittered. He must keep a level head, so as not to be carried away by some new community enthusiasm, by some clever political trick, or by the great discovery of some wild-eyed reformer. He must, by all means, avoid developing a "grouch" over the situation which confronts him, for a man with that attitude of mind never inspires confidence, and is always relatively ineffective.

THE QUALITIES OF LEADERSHIP

He must learn to lead by reason of his larger knowledge and his contagious enthusiasm, rather than to drive by reason of his superior power. The powers and prerogatives which are guaranteed him by law he must know how to use wisely, and he should be able to win new powers and prerogatives from the board largely by reason of his ability to use them well. He must constantly remember that he represents the whole community and not any part or fraction of it, and he must deal equal justice to all. As the representative of the whole community he will be wise not to ally himself at all closely with any faction, or division, or party in it.

He must, out of his larger knowledge, see clearly what are the attainable goals of the school system, and how best and how fast to attempt to reach them. From his larger knowledge, too, he must frequently reach up out of the routine of school supervision and executive duties into the higher levels of educational statesmanship. As a statesman, too, he must know how to take advantage of time and opportunity to carry his educational policy into effect.

By conferences, public and private, with leading citizens; by talks to parents at meetings at the schools; by taking the leaders among the teachers into his confidence; by dealing frankly and honestly with the press and the public; by

his own written and spoken word, especially in his annual printed reports, and by inciting others to write and speak; and by tact and diplomacy in dealing with the members of his board, he must try to develop such a public opinion that the recommendations which he makes will go through without serious opposition, and be readily accepted by the people of the community. He must remember, though, that Rome was not built in a day; that it takes a long period of education to accomplish any really fundamental reform; and that it is usually not necessary to rush important matters to an immediate consideration.

It is now that the value of the long years of careful preparation becomes apparent. It is often said that only the man who is master of his calling, who overruns its mere outlines and knows more about the details of his work than any one else with whom he must work, is safe. Out of his large knowledge of the details and processes of school work, gained in the years of apprenticeship in his calling, and out of the guiding educational philosophy which he has slowly built up for himself, he can see ends among the means and hope amid the discouragements, and be able to steer such a course amid the obstacles and trials and misunderstandings of city school control as will bring a well-thought-out educational policy slowly but surely into reality. To such a man larger and larger opportunities keep constantly opening up ahead.

THE CONCEPT OF COMPETENCY

Research related to the qualities or traits needed in school administration was lacking until about the middle of the century, when the Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration (SSCPEA) undertook an analysis of this approach. The concept of competency, as developed by the SSCPEA, is constituted of three parts: theory, job, and educational "know-how." Theory, when used in reference to the competency pattern, means first a set of postulates which explain particular phenomena and which are rendered plausible by evidence of facts or reasoning. Second, competency must be expressed in reference to a particular job which has to be done. Each job makes a special demand on the person who fills it. Finally, it is agreed that competency must be expressed in personal behavior, where behavior is really a composite of beliefs, knowledge and information, and technical skills. These three aspects—theory, job, and "know-how"—are thus correlated into a concept which is designated as competency.

The following list of competencies was selected from materials published during the period 1946 to 1956. The original list of competencies numbered 219; these were edited, combined, and synthesized successively to 168 and 114 competencies. The resulting list of 58 competencies updates the traitist approach, and partially explains the presence of "circumstances" in each administrative situation.

THE COMPETENCY PATTERN

1. Providing for group planning and decisions.
2. Formulating policy plans for improvement.
3. Organizing lay and professional groups for participation in educational planning and other educational activities.
4. Delegating responsibilities and authority.
5. Developing competency in human relations.
6. Providing for curriculum development.
7. Organizing school and community surveys.
8. Setting up procedures for the selection of personnel.
9. Appraising the operation of your school.
10. Determining the salaries of the staff.
11. Planning personal growth.
12. Developing competencies in communication.
13. Developing a favorable environment for the staff.
14. Securing understanding and support for the school program.
15. Choosing pertinent problems for study from your own school system.
16. Promoting staff growth through staff meetings.
17. Providing instructional leadership.
18. Planning the school building with the architect, staff, students, and laymen.
19. Preparing the budget for the school district.
20. Learning the principles of problem solving and decision making.
21. Aiding the school board members to distinguish between policy and executive functions.
22. Developing the school as a community center.
23. Providing for the efficient operation and maintenance of plant facilities.
24. Conducting and utilizing research concerning educational problems of the school and community.
25. Developing good budgeting procedures.
26. Developing an effective plan of formal organization.
27. Promoting staff growth through participation in professional organizations.
28. Improving school and community relations through staff participation in community activities.
29. Improving staff morale through assignment.

SOURCE: From *Better Teaching in School Administration* by the Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, pp. 41-50. Copyright 1955 by the McQuiddy Printing Company. Reprinted by permission of the McQuiddy Printing Company.

30. Improving staff morale through retirement provisions.
31. Promoting staff growth through in-service training.
32. Providing for adult education.
33. Providing a system of financial accounting for the district.
34. Employing community resources in the instructional process.
35. Determining the educational requirements of the new building.
36. Providing for student participation in developing the educational program.
37. Helping each staff member to study his position.
38. Developing a working knowledge of the school laws.
39. Preparing school reports to present to the board, staff, and community.
40. Providing opportunity for all children through the curriculum.
41. Improving staff morale through sick leave provisions.
42. Administering the budget of your school district.
43. Setting up businesslike procedures for supply and equipment procurement.
44. Developing procedures for reporting to parents.
45. Alerting the community to the importance of the building program.
46. Providing on-the-job training for non-teaching staff.
47. Assuring the greatest educational return for the supply and equipment dollar.
48. Measuring the financial ability of the school district to pay for education.
49. Storing and distributing supplies.
50. Determining the amount of coverage for insurance.
51. Financing capital outlay.
52. Cooperating with persons and agencies related to child welfare and attendance.
53. Providing guidance services for all children.
54. Keeping records.
55. Analyzing the expenditures of the school district.
56. Determining the level of bus services to be made available to the district.
57. Developing a system of staff personnel records.
58. Providing pupil cumulative records.

The problem of which single quality or set of qualities is most essential in school administration is attacked in the following selection. The author demonstrates that leaders do not fall into a recognizable pattern, but rather tend to differ widely in their personal characteristics.

QUALITIES OF THE LEADER

Boyd Lindop

ONE OF THE FIRST and most obvious things to note about leaders is that they are cut to no single pattern, but vary to the widest possible degree in personal qualities and characteristics. There is no one characteristic or combination of characteristics making leadership inevitable, no single quality enabling the observer to say, "This man will be a leader."

The lanky height and rugged frontier honesty of a Lincoln can be countered by the cherubic chubbiness of Churchill, the shortness of Napoleon, and the denial of political and moral scruples by the highly civilized Machiavelli. The oratorical ability of a Demosthenes, a Churchill or a Roosevelt (Republican or Democratic) can be balanced by the dry New England brevity of Coolidge's "I do not choose to run."

The rise to power on force, violence, fear and hatred of a Hitler or a Stalin can be more than balanced by the influence of a sufferer from hatred as great as any the world has known—a sufferer who uttered a gentle "Father, forgive them."

For every single quality or characteristic one might list as an essential for leadership, and for every leader selected as an illustration, someone else might list a characteristic or quality almost directly opposed—and cite an equally or more impressive example.

From careful study of many leaders, however, experts would come close to agreeing that the best and most successful leaders exhibit many or all of the following characteristics or qualities—to a greater or lesser degree.

1. Energy, enthusiasm.
2. Confidence.
3. Sense of purpose and direction.
4. Technical skill:
 - a. Competence and mastery of some field.
 - b. Teaching skill: ability to get ideas across to others, and arouse their enthusiasm.
 - c. Ability to obtain cooperation.
 - d. Ability to make others feel important.
 - e. Ability to organize, and to delegate responsibility.
 - f. Ability to express one's ideas clearly in speech and writing.
5. Imagination, and ability to face reality.
6. Traits of personality:
 - a. Modesty, combined with self promotion.
 - b. Friendliness, affection.

- c. Social ease and grace.
- d. Lack of snobbishness.
- e. Tact. Combined with
- f. Frankness and honesty.
- g. Willingness to serve others.
- h. Fearlessness in standing up for the right.
- i. Sense of humor.
- 7. Traits of character:
 - a. Adaptability: lack of fear of the new, and willingness to experiment and try new things.
 - b. Integrity, sincerity, honesty.
 - c. Fairness and impartiality.
 - d. Courage and decisiveness.
 - e. Initiative.
 - f. Thoroughness.
- 8. Intelligence: meaning—curiosity, observation, open-mindedness, resourcefulness, ingenuity, originality, and the ability to anticipate problems.
- 9. Judgment.
- 10. Faith.

In this introduction to leadership, let us examine each of these concepts more fully.

ENERGY, ENTHUSIASM

Sluggishness, apathy, chronic fatigue, routine execution—these are the foes of good leadership which only abounding energy can keep at bay. . . . The first and most basic requirement of the leader is to develop an abundance of red-blooded, free-flowing energy.¹

So writes Ordway Tead, emphasizing the importance of the first characteristic of good leadership listed. Certainly without energy one finds it hard to be enthusiastic about a program—and listlessly supporting a cause is often worse than not supporting it at all. You cannot arouse enthusiasm in others without being enthusiastic yourself, and you cannot “sell” any idea or program without energy or enthusiasm.

And from the practical point of view, as Webb and Morgan point out, energy helps the future leader to get his or her start. “To do more than is expected, to take care, to assume extra responsibility, to look beyond the day’s work—this is the way that men gain the attention of their superiors.”²

CONFIDENCE

Along with energy and enthusiasm, the leader needs confidence and sureness. People follow the confident leader without hesitation; they rarely follow the

¹ Ordway Tead. *The Art of Leadership*. New York, 1935, p. 84.

² Ewing Webb, John B. Morgan. *Strategy in Handling People*. New York, 1930, p. 190.

leader who does not seem sure of himself, and the person who does not exhibit confidence is not often a leader.

"It is the confidence of the leader that sweeps forward his followers," Webb and Morgan emphasize. "On him rests the burden."³

SENSE OF PURPOSE AND DIRECTION

To be a leader implies being in front of a group which is moving toward certain goals. To have leadership without purpose or direction is a contradiction in terms, an invitation to "organized confusion."

If a group is to get anywhere, the leader must have a sense of direction, an understanding of the purposes or goals toward which the group is heading—and some ideas as to "how to get there."

TECHNICAL SKILL

A. Competence in Some Field, Leading toward Technical Mastery

The bluffer, the "hot air artist" with no real knowledge of the business in which he is engaged may make a good first impression, and obtain a high position—but he will seldom last on the job, and he will never be respected by those who work with him and know him best.

A sound foundation, competence on which one can build toward mastery in the field of work you have chosen, is the surest way to win respect from those who will work with you, and to obtain permanent advance to positions of leadership.

B. Teaching Skill

Much of the work of the leader involves teaching and instruction of those under him, or those who follow his guidance. Thus teaching skill (if we define this skill as the ability to work with those being taught, effectively getting ideas across to them, and arousing their interest and enthusiasm for the job at hand) is essential to greatest leadership success.

C. Ability to Obtain Cooperation

You may have the finest plans and ideas in the world, goals which nobody would question, and all sorts of energy, enthusiasm, and confidence—but if you cannot get others to work with you, to cooperate with your plans, you will be the commanding officer in an army of one—a rather lonely and exposed position, jealously sought only by hermits.

D. Ability to Make Others Feel Important

This ability is one of the key methods of getting others to work with you, for some of America's most profound philosophers⁴ consider the desire to be important one of the deepest urges in human nature.

³ *Ibid*, p. 231.

⁴ John Dewey, for example.

Sincere and honest appreciation, Dale Carnegie points out, is one of the best ways of recognizing and using this desire to feel important.⁵ He and many other students of leadership would undoubtedly agree with Webb and Morgan that "It is very largely by making the other fellow feel important that great leaders gain and hold their power over men."⁶ And with Laird that we should "Always help people increase their self esteem," and that "The most priceless gift you can give anyone is encouragement."⁷

E. Ability to Organize, and to Delegate Responsibility

The friendly, easy-going individual whom everyone knows and likes, but who is constitutionally unable to plan and organize, may accomplish many things—but he will never accomplish as much as he could with a little organization. And the boss who has to do everything himself, the leader who cannot bear to delegate responsibility and authority, is a notoriously inefficient character, lacking one of the most important skills of leadership.

F. Ability to Express One's Ideas Clearly in Speech and Writing

The leader who cannot communicate is lost—and over his thousands of years of development man has established speech and writing as tools of communication. The leader must be able to use these tools to reach those he leads.

One does not need a college degree to express ideas clearly and forcefully, but the prospective leader must develop speaking and writing abilities to the greatest possible extent—in school, and in life contacts—to become effective. No great leaders have lacked the ability to express themselves clearly in speech or writing, or both; few have found effective expression easy, but none have found it impossible.

IMAGINATION

Probably nothing great was ever accomplished in this world without somebody's imagination, first of all, to see the possibility, to spark his thinking and that of others, and to encourage himself and others during the planning and work necessary to see a job through. As Bowie wrote in *On Being Alive*: "The mightiest works have been accomplished by men who have somehow kept their ability to dream great dreams."⁸

Along with imagination to see possibilities where none have been seen before must go a hard headed recognition of reality—and courage to face it. Imagination must not be allowed to become a refuge from the world as it is, and the true leader should be the last to bury himself in imaginative dreams and forget about the problems of reality.

It's not an easy combination to find or develop—but the realist with imagi-

⁵ See *How to Win Friends and Influence People*.

⁶ Ewing Webb and John B. Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁷ Donald Laird. *The Technique of Handling People*. New York, 1949, p. 104.

⁸ Quoted in *Reader's Digest*, August, 1952, p. 132.

nation is probably the ideal leader. As Thoreau said, "If you have built castles in the air, your work need not be lost; that is where they should be. Now put the foundations under them."⁹

TRAITS OF PERSONALITY

A. Modesty, Combined with Self Promotion

Nobody likes the braggard who is always "tooting his own horn," and few care to accept the leadership of such an individual if it can be avoided. And yet, unless the embryo leader finds unobtrusive and inoffensive means of calling attention to his good qualities and accomplishments, nobody is likely to seek them out—and the light which is buried under a bushel cannot be seen very far.

Thus the leader needs a careful balance in his personality of modesty and self promotion—a balance to be found, perhaps, only by trial and error, and differing for each individual, group, and leadership situation.

B. Friendliness and Affection

Who has not noticed a baby's response to a smile and affectionate words from its parents, a relative, or even a total stranger?

We are all child-like in our response to true friendliness and affection. There is nothing we appreciate more, or to which we react more readily and more favorably. The leader who is naturally and genuinely interested in people, and friendly toward them, has a tremendous advantage over the leader who lacks this trait—an advantage which the latter can only overcome by working to develop all the friendliness and affectionate understanding that he can.

The friendly leader is an efficient leader, for we follow him from choice rather than coercion, and we enjoy working with and for him.

C. Social Ease and Grace

The leader is often called upon to meet people in a social setting—a tea, a dance, a party, a reception—little as such affairs may seem to be connected with the work he is attempting to accomplish.

There is no doubt that study and practice can make one feel more at ease in such situations—and that leadership of most groups will be made easier by at least a minimum working knowledge of the social graces.

D. Lack of Snobbishness

The leader who is, or who becomes, a snob, does himself and his group the poorest kind of service, for snobbery runs counter to the ideals of this nation, and repels those who believe in human dignity and recognize snobbishness as the refuge of small minds.

Worst of all, snobbery (carried to its logical conclusion) leads to the

⁹ Henry David Thoreau. *Walden*, Chapter 18.

"exclusiveness" that bars contributions by those who are thought to be lower on the social or economic ladder, but who may—like the homely Lincoln, the scientist Carver who took the proud first name George Washington, or a rope twirling cowboy named Will Rogers—have more knowledge, ability and worth to contribute than all the elite and socially correct acceptable nonentities together.

E. Tact

One will not make and keep many friends without being tactful or considerate—and America's ideal is leading by friendship rather than by dominating force.

Tact implies ability to see the other person's point of view, combined with the elementary liking for others that leads one to say and do things which show consideration for them and their viewpoints and to avoid saying and doing the things which will hurt them or give them pain.

In combination with frankness and honesty, tact is a very desirable attribute for the leader, and one that is not too difficult to develop.

F. Frankness and Honesty

Being tactful does not imply being cowardly or dishonest. The leader who "straddles the fence" on issues, hesitating to speak out frankly and honestly when his opinion is required or needed, is not a true leader. Nor will he exert his full potential influence for guidance and leadership.

Again, the occasions on which it is necessary to speak, and the times when tact requires silence or very diplomatic words, will have to be determined by the individual situation and the individual leader. But admitting that the practical applications may be difficult, we can still affirm that a leader without the ability to be frank and honest, as well as tactful, will not be the best possible leader.

G. Willingness to Serve Others

Psychologist Henry C. Link¹⁰ goes so far as to define personality as "the extent to which the individual has developed habits and skills which interest and serve other people." Interest and serve others: a challenging concept of the personality for leadership, and suggestive of ways we can improve the impression we make on others—our individual leadership personality.

And most of us would agree with Newton that "If two young people start out in business with equal intelligence, equal technical knowledge, and equal opportunity, the one with the well balanced and attractive personality will in the long run outstrip the other."¹¹

Without doubt, the best leaders are those who are most willing to serve others, at personal inconvenience if necessary. "Service builds leadership" is a good individual motto for everyone aspiring to leadership.

¹⁰ See *The Rediscovery of Man*, pp. 60–61.

¹¹ Roy Newton. *How to Improve Your Personality*. New York, 1942, p. 8.

H. Fearlessness in Standing Up for the Right

Leaders regularly find groups faced with problems and issues, and often in direct conflict with other groups or individuals on these problems. A leader who is afraid to oppose his own group when he is sure it is wrong, or who fails to champion the right decisions he has aided his group in forming, or to stand up for the rights and privileges of his group, is a leader only in name and not in fact.

"I'd rather be right than president."

"I disagree with what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

"The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

These are quotations in the best tradition of leadership—a tradition of fearlessness in standing up for the right as the leader sees it, however great the odds.

I. Sense of Humor

Many of the preceding items may have made the job of the leader sound difficult and rather grim. Certainly it isn't an easy job, but it needn't be a grim one. The leader can make it much easier if he has, or can develop, a sense of proportion—a sense of humor, if you will.

The joker who lacks ability to be serious when the need arises will never make an outstanding leader. But the individual who can be serious and convincing will be a better leader if he has the ability to see humor in a situation, and to laugh at his own shortcomings. He will be helped if he realizes that no one (himself included) is the center of the universe, and that few of us (if any) will ever make moves or decisions of world shaking significance.

Important advice for would-be leaders: develop the ability to see the funny side of events; evaluate the importance of our work properly, with the slightly quizzical look at its place in the long course of human development; and don't take yourself too seriously.

TRAITS OF CHARACTER

A. Adaptability

Adaptability may be defined as a lack of fear of the new, a willingness to experiment and try new things. Change for the mere sake of change is hard to justify, if indeed it can be justified; fear of change, when some new idea or technique may have good effects, is typical of many individuals—but of few who are leaders.

If we ignore tradition and start making changes just to be doing something, we are most foolish. We are equally foolish if we throw out a good suggestion just because we don't want to change our old ways. Respect for the past should be combined, in the best leaders and the groups they lead, with a willingness to experiment and adapt.

No improvement was ever made without change, but the best changes are usually through evolution rather than revolution. Fear of new ways and new techniques leads only to ultra-reaction and fatal lack of adjustment to new conditions, just as the desire for continuous and unnecessary change discounts the value of past experience and destroys any attempt to develop tradition.

Leaders should strive to honor and learn from the past, but to be adaptable and not to fear change, to meet new conditions or provide new solutions for old and troublesome problems.

B. Integrity, Sincerity, Honesty

We want leaders who merit our trust, whose word we can depend on. We need sincere and honest individuals at the head of every occupation and every group to which we belong; men whose integrity cannot be questioned. Our groups and professions suffer when we ourselves are, or choose as our leaders, any other types of men—and our belief in democracy and its ability to choose leaders wisely suffers, too, with consequent loss for our nation.

Integrity, sincerity, honesty are extremely important ideals and standards.¹²

C. Fairness and Impartiality

Basic also to good leadership are qualities of fairness and impartiality. Only the fair and impartial leader can hold a group together when opinions on some issue are strong and tempers rise. Neither characteristic is easy to develop, but almost everyone has seen groups split apart when some members have considered the leader unfair, and many may recall groups held together under the most trying circumstances by the fairness and impartiality of a respected leader.

Good leadership demands fairness and impartiality for all ideas and viewpoints which do not aim to undermine the group itself and respect for opinions and judgments of the group. Democracy means majority rule; it also means protection for the minority, and a fair chance to express the minority opinion which may eventually become the popular, majority view.

D. Courage and Decisiveness

Leadership is at a premium because so many people are loath to make irrevocable decisions, are tepid in their enthusiasms, timid in their faith in themselves, afraid of the burden of responsibility, and undecided about their direction. . . . Nothing so betrays the leader as reluctance to stand behind, defend and pay the price of the course of action he has chosen to follow. He must be willing squarely to shoulder the responsibility; and it is at this point that many people reveal deficiencies which debar them from real strength as leaders.¹³

So writes Ordway Tead, emphasizing the leader's need to make decisions, and pointing out the importance of courage in deciding on and supporting a

¹² Intellectual fortitude and integrity of character represent traits which are apparently associated with eminent leadership in maturity."—Ralph Stogdill. "Personal Factors Associated With Leadership." *Journal of Psychology* 25 (January, 1948), p. 52.

¹³ Ordway Tead, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 124.

course of action. Only the person who shoulders responsibility decisively and courageously is worthy of positions of leadership and is likely to handle such positions successfully.

E. Initiative

Initiative is the spark plug which makes the person who is truly qualified for leadership ready to assume leadership responsibilities. It is the driving force that keeps the leader at work, seeking new tasks and problems when one job has been completed instead of sitting back and waiting to be told what to do next, as so many who are followers do.

Leaders do not rest on their laurels for long if they expect to remain leaders. Initiative is a necessary quality for anyone who aspires to rise above the crowd clustered at the foot of the ladder to success; it is a characteristic of all true leaders.

F. Thoroughness

"He leaves the job half done" is an indictment that disqualifies from leadership the person who rarely finishes what he starts. The group has every right to expect its leaders to carry through on plans, to see that desired action is taken. It will forgive many faults in a leader who is thorough and can be counted on to complete a task or see that it is completed; it is not likely to forgive, or tolerate if it has any choice, the leader who doesn't deliver.

Thoroughness in minor tasks or responsibilities is the finest training for leadership, and one of the best ways to call favorable attention from the group—with a view to obtaining greater leadership responsibility in the future.

INTELLIGENCE

Must leaders be intelligent?

The answer will depend, of course, on one's understanding of the term, and definition of intelligence—a subject on which many thick volumes have been written, and which cannot be discussed at length here.

If we include in a brief definition, however, such qualities as the curiosity which leads to careful observation and scientific analysis of a problem, open-mindedness, resourcefulness and ingenuity, capacity for originality and original thinking, and the ability to foresee or anticipate problems, then we will have to agree that leaders **MUST** be intelligent.

If we limit our definition of intelligence to some intangible something measured in IQ tests or by straight A's on a school report card, the answer will be no—leaders need not necessarily be intelligent.¹⁴

In general, leaders will be above average academically.¹⁵ Many of the finest

¹⁴ Though surveys show that "Leaders are found, with a high degree of uniformity, to make better average scholastic grades than do nonleaders," and that "leadership status is more often than not associated with superiority in intelligence."—Ralph Stogdill, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 46.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

will be scholarship award winners and, in college, members of Phi Beta Kappa. But many good leaders will be average or below average in academic studies; and everyone knows brilliant students who lack leadership ability completely, which is not to be taken as a criticism of such students but merely as a statement of fact.

School standards of scholarship for office are a recognition of the fact that leaders tend to be above average, and a protection for the student leader—whose grades, outstanding or average, often suffer from the pressure of activities during the term in office. In short, we're for all the intelligence and all the scholastic ability we can possibly have in our leaders; and we're for all the leadership ability that our scholars can develop.¹⁶

JUDGMENT

Intelligence alone is not enough for good leadership. It must be accompanied by judgment.

Mark Twain, one of America's most intelligent writers, lost fortunes on get-rich-quick schemes, and turned down the chance to back several successful ventures. His judgment, in this regard, was poor.

One could probably show that Hitler and Napoleon were both intelligent men, and this writer has never heard "dumb" among the adjectives used in describing Stalin and his successor.

The physicist who develops a bomb strong enough to destroy the world, and without judgment to refrain from testing such a bomb, would be a poor leader indeed for the world to follow or mankind to idolize.

Judgment must guide intelligence, or intelligence may lead to unfortunate errors, may direct a group in wrong directions, may even bring a nation or the world to slavery or disaster. Judgment, or plain "horse sense" as our elders would call it, is an essential in good leadership.

FAITH

Faith is the last of the qualities we suggest as characteristic of the leader, and it is the quality which gives meaning and purpose to many of the others we have listed, and to the tasks of leadership itself.

Tead refers to its importance in these words:

It seems necessary . . . that the really strong leader should believe in some meaning in human living, in some fruitful outcome of human effort, in some

¹⁶ Stogdill offers an appropriate word of caution and advice. "One of the most significant findings concerning the relation of intelligence to leadership is that extreme discrepancies between the intelligence of potential leaders and their followers militate against the exercise of leadership. . . . One of the difficulties in this connection seems to be concerned with communication. The average child cannot comprehend a large part of the vocabulary employed by a child of unusually superior intelligence to express exact meanings in relation to his more mature and complicated interests. Differences in interests, goals, and activity patterns also act as barriers to join participation, which is a necessary condition for group leadership."—Ralph Stogdill, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

sense that mankind struggles not against but essentially in harmony with the animating power of the universe. The best leader has faith in the world as a place where there is a real better and worse, where these are somewhat ascertainable, and where effort toward the good can yield appreciable results. . . . The greater leaders have acted as if life's values were real and permanent; as if living possessed an inner meaning and significance; as if the good once attained could not be lost or destroyed; and as if courage, endurance, and resignation to the inevitable were worthy adult attributes.¹⁷

It is possible that only when the leader has a basic faith in humanity and eventual good is he capable of giving the inspiring leadership which followers seek from those they designate to lead them. Only when he is guided by such faith can we be sure that the leader will exert his powers and abilities for good and not selfish personal goals.

Faith is the final basic ingredient that makes a leader into a force for truth and good rather than an influence for evil, and qualifies him as a confident and courageous moulder of destiny for right and justice.

TO THE STUDENT

May your goals and standards always be high, and during your high school life and later experiences may you continually strive to develop the qualities of good leadership to the best of your ability—becoming increasingly a person with energy, enthusiasm, confidence, a sense of purpose and direction, technical skill, imagination, a good personality and outstanding character, intelligence, judgment, and faith.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Contrast the "traits" approach contained in this chapter with the "behavioristic" approach contained in Chapter 10. Would you say the difference is in the parts of speech utilized: that is, do nouns describe one approach while verbs describe the other?
2. Discuss the ways in which the Cubberley article is "still current" and ways in which it is out of date.
3. List the nouns (manliness, courage, vision) which Cubberley uses to describe the school superintendent. Divide the list into nouns (a) which describe the personal qualifications and (b) which describe the job or related aspects of the work of the superintendent.
4. Are instruments available for measuring courage, honesty, manliness, and the like? Are the amounts and proportions of each which are thought necessary discernible from the article?
5. Let the class discuss workable definitions of educational statesmanship; sense of humor; good sense of timing; human sympathy; desire; a good sense of proportion. Is there agreement about what constitutes each of these qualities?

¹⁷ Ordway Tead, *op. cit.*, pp. 259, 264.

6. Do you get the impression that these (noun) qualities of the superintendent are teachable or not? How might one proceed to set up a preparation program for the superintendent under these circumstances?

7. Evaluate the superintendent, using (a) the traits he possesses and (b) the superintendent's behavior, and compare the results. Do we sometimes combine these two approaches in evaluating teachers? What difficulties might arise if such a combined approach were utilized?

8. An early text in education listed two types of teaching "personality"—positive and negative. Positive-type persons were directors, executives; negative-type persons were seen as followers. Of what assistance in analyzing administrative effectiveness is the concept of positive- and negative-type personalities?

9. What difficulties might one experience in adopting the competencies pattern outlined in the SSCPEA selection? In what ways is this concept helpful in explaining certain phenomena in school administration?

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CHAPTER 6

The Management Concept: An Era of Transition

GROWTH OF THE SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT CONCEPT

Many persons were involved in the development of the meaning and purpose of administration. Because the study of management principles resulted in greater productivity, it was possible to demonstrate the effectiveness of the new "science" in the factory and shop. Among the early pioneer students of administration was Frederick Winslow Taylor, who is often called the father of the scientific management movement. Taylor conducted time and motion studies, and separated the planning from the performance functions. Through application of the Taylor principles, production in steel and heavy industry rose dramatically. Although Taylor largely ignored the empathic (personal) aspects of management, his ideas were widely adopted in America during the time that similar ideas were widely advocated by Henri Fayol (1841-1925) in France and elsewhere in Europe. The work of these two men was reflected later in the writings of Gulick, Urwick, and Sears, the latter having applied the principles of scientific management to school administration.

The following selection from Taylor's writings may seem tame in the latter half of the twentieth century, but the student should remember that, at the time it was written, it constituted a dramatic step forward in the long search for increased efficiency in management. Both Taylor and Fayol believed that the *processes* of industry could be analyzed and studied scientifically. In so doing, both men tended to ignore the human side of production and laid heavy stress on organizational processes, which they felt were at the heart of the scientific management movement.

THE PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT

Frederick Winslow Taylor

THE WRITER has found that there are three questions uppermost in the minds of men when they become interested in scientific management.

FIRST Wherein do the principles of scientific management differ essentially from those of ordinary management?

SECOND Why are better results attained under scientific management than under the other types?

THIRD Is not the most important problem that of getting the right man at the head of the company? And if you have the right man cannot the choice of the type of management be safely left to him?

One of the principal objects of the following pages will be to give a satisfactory answer to these questions.

THE FINEST TYPE OF ORDINARY MANAGEMENT

Before starting to illustrate the principles of scientific management, or "task management" as it is briefly called, it seems desirable to outline what the writer believes will be recognized as the best type of management which is in common use. This is done so that the great difference between the best of the ordinary management and scientific management may be fully appreciated.

In an industrial establishment which employs say from 500 to 1000 workmen, there will be found in many cases at least twenty to thirty different trades. The workmen in each of these trades have had their knowledge handed down to them by word of mouth, through the many years in which their trade has been developed from the primitive condition, in which our far-distant ancestors each one practised the rudiments of many different trades, to the present state of great and growing subdivision of labor, in which each man specializes upon some comparatively small class of work.

The ingenuity of each generation has developed quicker and better methods for doing every element of the work in every trade. Thus the methods which are now in use may in a broad sense be said to be an evolution representing the survival of the fittest and best of the ideas which have been developed since the starting of each trade. However, while this is true in a broad sense, only those who are intimately acquainted with each of

these trades are fully aware of the fact that in hardly any element of any trade is there uniformity in the methods which are used. Instead of having only one way which is generally accepted as a standard, there are in daily use, say, fifty or a hundred different ways of doing each element of the work. And a little thought will make it clear that this must inevitably be the case, since our methods have been handed down from man to man by word of mouth, or have, in most cases, been almost unconsciously learned through personal observation. Practically in no instances have they been codified or systematically analyzed or described. The ingenuity and experience of each generation—of each decade, even, have without doubt handed over better methods to the next. This mass of rule-of-thumb or traditional knowledge may be said to be the principal asset or possession of every tradesman. Now, in the best of the ordinary types of management, the managers recognize frankly the fact that the 500 or 1000 workmen, included in the twenty to thirty trades, who are under them, possess this mass of traditional knowledge, a large part of which is not in the possession of the management. The management, of course, includes foremen and superintendents, who themselves have been in most cases first-class workers at their trades. And yet these foremen and superintendents know, better than any one else, that their own knowledge and personal skill falls far short of the combined knowledge and dexterity of all the workmen under them. The most experienced managers therefore frankly place before their workmen the problem of doing the work in the best and most economical way. They recognize the task before them as that of inducing each workman to use his best endeavors, his hardest work, all his traditional knowledge, his skill, his ingenuity, and his good-will—in a word, his “initiative,” so as to yield the largest possible return to his employer. The problem before the management, then, may be briefly said to be that of obtaining the best *initiative* of every workman. And the writer uses the word “initiative” in its broadest sense, to cover all of the good qualities sought for from the men.

On the other hand, no intelligent manager would hope to obtain in any full measure the initiative of his workmen unless he felt that he was giving them something more than they usually receive from their employers. Only those among the readers of this paper who have been managers or who have worked themselves at a trade realize how far the average workman falls short of giving his employer his full initiative. It is well within the mark to state that in nineteen out of twenty industrial establishments the workmen believe it to be directly against their interests to give their employers their best initiative, and that instead of working hard to do the largest possible amount of work and the best quality of work for their employers, they deliberately work as slowly as they dare while they at the same time try to make those over them believe that they are working fast.¹

The writer repeats, therefore, that in order to have any hope of obtain-

¹ The writer has tried to make the reason for this unfortunate state of things clear in a paper entitled “Shop Management,” read before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

ing the initiative of his workmen the manager must give some *special incentive* to his men beyond that which is given to the average of the trade. This incentive can be given in several different ways, as, for example, the hope of rapid promotion or advancement; higher wages, either in the form of generous piece-work prices or of a premium or bonus of some kind for good and rapid work; shorter hours of labor; better surroundings and working conditions than are ordinarily given, etc., and, above all, this special incentive should be accompanied by that personal consideration for, and friendly contact with, his workmen which comes only from a genuine and kindly interest in the welfare of those under him. It is only by giving a special inducement or "incentive" of this kind that the employer can hope even approximately to get the "initiative" of his workmen. Under the ordinary type of management the necessity for offering the workman a special inducement has come to be so generally recognized that a large proportion of those most interested in the subject look upon the adoption of some one of the modern schemes for paying men (such as piece work, the premium plan, or the bonus plan, for instance) as practically the whole system of management. Under scientific management, however, the particular pay system which is adopted is merely one of the subordinate elements.

Broadly speaking, then, the best type of management in ordinary use may be defined as management in which the workmen give their best *initiative* and in return receive some *special incentive* from their employers. This type of management will be referred to as the management of "initiative and incentive" in contradistinction to scientific management, or task management, with which it is to be compared.

The writer hopes that the management of "initiative and incentive" will be recognized as representing the best type in ordinary use, and in fact he believes that it will be hard to persuade the average manager that anything better exists in the whole field than this type. The task which the writer has before him, then, is the difficult one of trying to prove in a thoroughly convincing way that there is another type of management which is not only better but overwhelmingly better than the management of "initiative and incentive."

The universal prejudice in favor of the management of "initiative and incentive" is so strong that no mere theoretical advantages which can be pointed out will be likely to convince the average manager that any other system is better. It will be upon a series of practical illustrations of the actual working of the two systems that the writer will depend in his efforts to prove that scientific management is so greatly superior to other types. Certain elementary principles, a certain philosophy, will however be recognized as the essence of that which is being illustrated in all of the practical examples which will be given. And the broad principles in which the scientific system differs from the ordinary or "rule-of-thumb" system are so simple in their nature that it seems desirable to describe them before starting with the illustrations.

Under the old type of management success depends almost entirely upon getting the "initiative" of the workmen, and it is indeed a rare case in which this initiative is really attained. Under scientific management the "initiative" of the workmen (that is, their hard work, their good-will, and their ingenuity) is obtained with absolute uniformity and to a greater extent than is possible under the old system; (and in addition to this improvement on the part of the men, the managers assume new burdens, new duties, and responsibilities never dreamed of in the past. The managers assume, for instance, the burden of gathering together all of the traditional knowledge which in the past has been possessed by the workmen and then of classifying, tabulating, and reducing this knowledge to rules, laws, and formulae which are immensely helpful to the workmen in doing their daily work.) In addition to developing a *science* in this way, the management take on three other types of duties which involve new and heavy burdens for themselves.

These new duties are grouped under four heads:

FIRST They develop a science for each element of a man's work, which replaces the old rule-of-thumb method.

SECOND They scientifically select and then train, teach, and develop the workman, whereas in the past he chose his own work and trained himself as best he could.

THIRD They heartily cooperate with the men so as to insure all of the work being done in accordance with the principles of the science which has been developed.

FOURTH There is an almost equal division of the work and the responsibility between the management and the workmen. The management take over all work for which they are better fitted than the workmen, while in the past almost all of the work and the greater part of the responsibility were thrown upon the men.

It is this combination of the initiative of the workmen, coupled with the new types of work done by the management, that makes scientific management so much more efficient than the old plan.

Three of these elements exist in many cases, under the management of "initiative and incentive," in a small and rudimentary way, but they are, under this management, of minor importance, whereas under scientific management they form the very essence of the whole system.

The fourth of these elements, "an almost equal division of the responsibility between the management and the workmen," requires further explanation. The philosophy of the management of "initiative and incentive" makes it necessary for each workman to bear almost the entire responsibility for the general plan as well as for each detail of his work, and in many cases for his implements as well. In addition to this he must do all of the actual physical labor. The development of a science, on the other hand, involves the establishment of many rules, laws, and formulae which replace the judgment of the individual workman and which can be effectively used only after having been systematically recorded, indexed, etc. The practical use

of scientific data also calls for a room in which to keep the books, records,² etc., and a desk for the planner to work at. Thus all of the planning which under the old system was done by the workman, as a result of his personal experience, must of necessity under the new system be done by the management in accordance with the laws of the science; because even if the workman was well suited to the development and use of scientific data, it would be physically impossible for him to work at his machine and at a desk at the same time. It is also clear that in most cases one type of man is needed to plan ahead and an entirely different type to execute the work.

The man in the planning room, whose specialty under scientific management is planning ahead, invariably finds that the work can be done better and more economically by a subdivision of the labor; each act of each mechanic, for example, should be preceded by various preparatory acts done by other men. And all of this involves, as we have said, "an almost equal division of the responsibility and the work between the management and the workman."

To summarize: Under the management of "initiative and incentive" practically the whole problem is "up to the workman," while under scientific management fully one-half of the problem is "up to the management."

TWO PHILOSOPHIES OF MANAGEMENT

Taylor's insistence on getting the most out of the worker—his best "initiative," as he said—was based upon an ancient philosophy of management, dating to before the pyramids. Each worker seeks to protect himself by "holding back" some of his initiative. The task of management then becomes that of obtaining a full day's work for a full day's pay. Incentives such as early promotions, higher wages, shorter hours, and similar enticements were used. This philosophy of management's concept of the worker is ably described in the following selection. McGregor calls it Theory X, and contrasts this philosophy with that of an emerging concept of management, namely Theory Y.

² For example, the records containing the data used under scientific management in an ordinary machine-shop fill thousands of pages.

THEORY X: THE TRADITIONAL VIEW OF DIRECTION AND CONTROL

Douglas McGregor

BEHIND every managerial decision or action are assumptions about human nature and human behavior. A few of these are remarkably pervasive. They are implicit in most of the literature of organization and in much current managerial policy and practice:

1. *The average human being has an inherent dislike of work and will avoid it if he can.*

This assumption has deep roots. The punishment of Adam and Eve for eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge was to be banished from Eden into a world where they had to work for a living. The stress that management places on productivity, on the concept of "a fair day's work," on the evils of featherbedding and restriction of output, on rewards for performance—while it has a logic in terms of the objectives of enterprise—reflects an underlying belief that management must counteract an inherent human tendency to avoid work. The evidence for the correctness of this assumption would seem to most managers to be incontrovertible.

2. *Because of this human characteristic of dislike of work, most people must be coerced, controlled, directed, threatened with punishment to get them to put forth adequate effort toward the achievement of organizational objectives.*

The dislike of work is so strong that even the promise of rewards is not generally enough to overcome it. People will accept the rewards and demand continually higher ones, but these alone will not produce the necessary effort. Only the threat of punishment will do the trick.

The current wave of criticism of "human relations," the derogatory comments about "permissiveness" and "democracy" in industry, the trends in some companies toward recentralization after the postwar wave of decentralization—all these are assertions of the underlying assumption that people will only work under external coercion and control. The recession of 1957–1958 ended a decade of experimentation with the "soft" managerial approach, and this assumption (which never really was abandoned) is being openly espoused once more.

3. *The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, has relatively little ambition, wants security above all.*

This assumption of the "mediocrity of the masses" is rarely expressed so bluntly. In fact, a good deal of lip service is given to the ideal of the worth of the average human being. Our political and social values demand such public expressions. Nevertheless, a great many managers will give private support to this assumption, and it is easy to see it reflected in policy and practice. Paternalism has become a nasty word, but it is by no means a defunct managerial philosophy.

I have suggested elsewhere the name Theory X for this set of assumptions. In later chapters of this book I will attempt to show that Theory X is not a straw man for purposes of demolition, but is in fact a theory which materially influences managerial strategy in a wide sector of American industry today. Moreover, the principles of organization which comprise the bulk of the literature of management *could only have been derived from assumptions such as those of Theory X*. Other beliefs about human nature would have led inevitably to quite different organizational principles.

Theory X provides an explanation of some human behavior in industry. These assumptions would not have persisted if there were not a considerable body of evidence to support them. Nevertheless, there are many readily observable phenomena in industry and elsewhere which are not consistent with this view of human nature.

Such a state of affairs is not uncommon. The history of science provides many examples of theoretical explanations which persist over long periods despite the fact that they are only partially adequate. Newton's laws of motion are a case in point. It was not until the development of the theory of relativity during the present century that important inconsistencies and inadequacies in Newtonian theory could be understood and corrected.

The growth of knowledge in the social sciences during the past quarter century has made it possible to reformulate some assumptions about human nature and human behavior in the organizational setting which resolve certain of the inconsistencies inherent in Theory X. While this reformulation is, of course, tentative, it provides an improved basis for prediction and control of human behavior in industry.

SOME ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT MOTIVATION

At the core of any theory of the management of human resources are assumptions about human motivation. This has been a confusing subject because there have been so many conflicting points of view even among social scientists. In recent years, however, there has been a convergence of research findings and a growing acceptance of a few rather basic ideas about motivation. These ideas appear to have considerable power. They help to explain the inadequacies of Theory X as well as the limited sense in which it is correct. In addition, they provide the basis for an entirely different theory of management.

The following generalizations about motivation are somewhat oversimplified. If all of the qualifications which would be required by a truly adequate treatment were introduced, the gross essentials which are particularly significant for management would be obscured. These generalizations do not misrepresent the facts, but they do ignore some complexities of human behavior which are relatively unimportant for our purposes.

Man is a wanting animal—as soon as one of his needs is satisfied, another appears in its place. This process is unending. It continues from birth to death. Man continuously puts forth effort—works, if you please—to satisfy his needs.

Human needs are organized in a series of levels—a hierarchy of importance. At the lowest level, but preeminent in importance when they are thwarted, are the physiological needs. Man lives by bread alone, when there is no bread. Unless the circumstances are unusual, his needs for love, for status, for recognition are inoperative when his stomach has been empty for a while. But when he eats regularly and adequately, hunger ceases to be an important need. The sated man has hunger only in the sense that a full bottle has emptiness. The same is true of the other physiological needs of man—for rest, exercise, shelter, protection from the elements.

A satisfied need is not a motivator of behavior! This is a fact of profound significance. It is a fact which is unrecognized in Theory X and is, therefore, ignored in the conventional approach to the management of people. I shall return to it later. For the moment, an example will make the point. Consider your own need for air. Except as you are deprived of it, it has no appreciable motivating effect upon your behavior.

When the physiological needs are reasonably satisfied, needs at the next higher level begin to dominate man's behavior—to motivate him. These are the safety needs, for protection against danger, threat, deprivation. Some people mistakenly refer to these as needs for security. However, unless man is in a dependent relationship where he fears arbitrary deprivation, he does not demand security. The need is for the "fairest possible break." When he is confident of this, he is more than willing to take risks. But when he feels threatened or dependent, his greatest need is for protection, for security.

The fact needs little emphasis that since every industrial employee is in at least a partially dependent relationship, safety needs may assume considerable importance. Arbitrary management actions, behavior which arouses uncertainty with respect to continued employment or which reflects favoritism or discrimination, unpredictable administration of policy—these can be powerful motivators of the safety needs in the employment relationship at every level from worker to vice president. In addition, the safety needs of managers are often aroused by their dependence downward or laterally. This is a major reason for emphasis on management prerogatives and clear assignments of authority.

When man's physiological needs are satisfied and he is no longer fearful about his physical welfare, his social needs become important motivators of

his behavior. These are such needs as those for belonging, for association, for acceptance by one's fellows, for giving and receiving friendship and love.

Management knows today of the existence of these needs, but it is often assumed quite wrongly that they represent a threat to the organization. Many studies have demonstrated that the tightly knit, cohesive work group may, under proper conditions, be far more effective than an equal number of separate individuals in achieving organizational goals. Yet management, fearing group hostility to its own objectives, often goes to considerable lengths to control and direct human efforts in ways that are inimical to the natural "groupiness" of human beings. When man's social needs—and perhaps his safety needs, too—are thus thwarted, he behaves in ways which tend to defeat organizational objectives. He becomes resistant, antagonistic, uncooperative. But this behavior is a consequence, not a cause.

Above the social needs—in the sense that they do not usually become motivators until lower needs are reasonably satisfied—are the needs of greatest significance to management and to man himself. They are the egoistic needs, and they are of two kinds:

1. Those that relate to one's self-esteem: needs for self-respect and self-confidence, for autonomy, for achievement, for competence, for knowledge.
2. Those that relate to one's reputation: needs for status, for recognition, for appreciation, for the deserved respect of one's fellows.

Unlike the lower needs, these are rarely satisfied; man seeks indefinitely for more satisfaction of these needs once they have become important to him. However, they do not usually appear in any significant way until physiological, safety, and social needs are reasonably satisfied. Exceptions to this generalization are to be observed, particularly under circumstances where, in addition to severe deprivation of physiological needs, human dignity is trampled upon. Political revolutions often grow out of thwarted social and ego, as well as physiological, needs.

The typical industrial organization offers only limited opportunities for the satisfaction of egoistic needs to people at lower levels in the hierarchy. The conventional methods of organizing work, particularly in mass production industries, give little heed to these aspects of human motivation. If the practices of "scientific management" were deliberately calculated to thwart these needs—which, of course, they are not—they could hardly accomplish this purpose better than they do.

Finally—a capstone, as it were, on the hierarchy—there are the needs for self-fulfillment. These are the needs for realizing one's own potentialities, for continued self-development, for being creative in the broadest sense of that term.

The conditions of modern industrial life give only limited opportunity for these relatively dormant human needs to find expression. The deprivation most people experience with respect to other lower-level needs diverts their energies

into the struggle to satisfy *those* needs, and the needs for self-fulfillment remain below the level of consciousness.

Now, briefly, a few general comments about motivation:

We recognize readily enough that a man suffering from a severe dietary deficiency is sick. The deprivation of physiological needs has behavioral consequences. The same is true, although less well recognized, of the deprivation of higher-level needs. The man whose needs for safety, association, independence, or status are thwarted is sick, just as surely as is he who has rickets. And his sickness will have behavioral consequences. We will be mistaken if we attribute his resultant passivity, or his hostility, or his refusal to accept responsibility to his inherent "human nature." These forms of behavior are *symptoms* of illness—of deprivation of his social and egoistic needs.

The man whose lower-level needs are satisfied is not motivated to satisfy *those* needs. For practical purposes they exist no longer. (Remember my point about your need for air.) Management often asks, "Why aren't people more productive? We pay good wages, provide good working conditions, have excellent fringe benefits and steady employment. Yet people do not seem to be willing to put forth more than minimum effort." It is unnecessary to look far for the reasons.

Consideration of the rewards typically provided the worker for satisfying his needs through his employment leads to the interesting conclusion that most of these rewards can be used for satisfying his needs *only when he leaves the job*. Wages, for example, cannot be spent at work. The only contribution they can make to his satisfaction on the job is in terms of status differences resulting from wage differentials. (This, incidentally, is one of the reasons why small and apparently unimportant differences in wage rates can be the subject of so much heated dispute. The issue is not the pennies involved, but the fact that the status differences which they reflect are one of the few ways in which wages can result in need satisfaction in the job situation itself.)

Most fringe benefits—overtime pay, shift differentials, vacations, health and medical benefits, annuities, and the proceeds from stock purchase plans or profit-sharing plans—yield needed satisfaction only when the individual leaves the job. Yet these, along with wages, are among the major rewards provided by management for effort. It is not surprising, therefore, that for many wage earners *work is perceived as a form of punishment* which is the price to be paid for various kinds of satisfaction away from the job. To the extent that this is their perception, we would hardly expect them to undergo more of this punishment than is necessary.

Under today's conditions management has provided relatively well for the satisfaction of physiological and safety needs. The standard of living in our country is high; people do not suffer major deprivation of their physiological needs except during periods of severe unemployment. Even then, the social legislation developed since the thirties cushions the shock.

But the fact that management has provided for these physiological and safety needs has shifted the motivational emphasis to the social and the egoistic needs. Unless there are opportunities *at work* to satisfy these higher-level

needs, people will be deprived; and their behavior will reflect this deprivation. Under such conditions, if management continues to focus its attention on physiological needs, the mere provision of rewards is bound to be ineffective, and reliance on the threat of punishment will be inevitable. Thus one of the assumptions of Theory X will appear to be validated, but only because we have mistaken effects for causes.

People *will* make insistent demands for more money under these conditions. It becomes more important than ever to buy the material goods and services which can provide limited satisfaction of the thwarted needs. Although money has only limited value in satisfying many higher-level needs, it can become the focus of interest if it is the only means available.

The "carrot and stick" theory of motivation which goes along with Theory X works reasonably well under certain circumstances. The *means* for satisfying man's physiological and (within limits) safety needs can be provided or withheld by management. Employment itself is such a means, and so are wages, working conditions, and benefits. By these means the individual can be controlled so long as he is struggling for subsistence. Man tends to live for bread alone when there is little bread.

But the "carrot and stick" theory does not work at all once man has reached an adequate subsistence level and is motivated primarily by higher needs. Management cannot provide a man with self-respect, or with the respect of his fellows, or with the satisfaction of needs for self-fulfillment. We can create conditions such that he is encouraged and enabled to seek such satisfactions for himself, or we can thwart him by failing to create those conditions.

But this creation of conditions is not "control" in the usual sense; it does not seem to be a particularly good device for directing behavior. And so management finds itself in an odd position. The high standard of living created by our modern technological know-how provides quite adequately for the satisfaction of physiological and safety needs. The only significant exception is where management practices have not created confidence in a "fair break"—and thus where safety needs are thwarted. But by making possible the satisfaction of lower-level needs, management has deprived itself of the ability to use the control devices on which the conventional assumptions of Theory X has taught it to rely: rewards, promises, incentives, or threats and other coercive devices.

The philosophy of management by direction and control—*regardless of whether it is hard or soft*—is inadequate to motivate because the human needs on which this approach relies are relatively unimportant motivators of behavior in our society today. Direction and control are of limited value in motivating people whose important needs are social and egoistic.

People, deprived of opportunities to satisfy at work the needs which are now important to them, behave exactly as we might predict—with indolence, passivity, unwillingness to accept responsibility, resistance to change, willingness to follow the demagogue, unreasonable demands for economic benefits. It would seem that we may be caught in a web of our own weaving.

Theory X explains the *consequences* of a particular managerial strategy; it neither explains nor describes human nature although it purports to. Because its assumptions are so unnecessarily limiting, it prevents our seeing the possibilities inherent in other managerial strategies. What sometimes appear to be new strategies—decentralization, management by objectives, consultative supervision, “democratic” leadership—are usually but old wine in new bottles because the procedures developed to implement them are derived from the same inadequate assumptions about human nature. Management is constantly becoming disillusioned with widely touted and expertly merchandized “new approaches” to the human side of enterprise. The real difficulty is that these new approaches are no more than different tactics—programs, procedures, gadgets—within an unchanged strategy based on Theory X.

In child rearing, it is recognized that parental strategies of control must be progressively modified to adapt to the changed capabilities and characteristics of the human individual as he develops from infancy to adulthood. To some extent industrial management recognizes that the human *adult* possesses capabilities for continued learning and growth. Witness the many current activities in the fields of training and management development. In its *basic* conceptions of managing human resources, however, management appears to have concluded that the average human being is permanently arrested in his development in early adolescence. Theory X is built on the least common human denominator: the factory “hand” of the past. As Chris Argyris has shown dramatically in his *Personality and Organization*, conventional managerial strategies for the organization, direction, and control of the human resources of enterprise are admirably suited to the capacities and characteristics of the child rather than the adult.

In one limited area—that of research administration—there has been some recent recognition of the need for selective adaptation in managerial strategy. This, however, has been perceived as a unique problem, and its broader implications have not been recognized. As pointed out in this and the previous chapter, changes in the population at large—in educational level, attitudes and values, motivation, degree of dependence—have created both the opportunity and the need for other forms of selective adaptation. However, so long as the assumptions of Theory X continue to influence managerial strategy, we will fail to discover, let alone utilize, the potentialities of the average human being.

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A theory opposed to the foregoing theory was first advocated by Mary Parker Follett, who emphasized the desirability of building dynamic, harmonious human relationships within the factory walls. Together with Elton Mayo and Chester I. Barnard, Follett showed the importance of keeping the *worker* at the center of the administrative plan. Mayo demonstrated that, by increased attention to the worker, production could be made to rise no matter what else was done. Workers gladly cooperated because their advice was sought in the making of major decisions affecting them. The Hawthorne Studies revealed that wages and working conditions were not the chief factors in employee motivation.

Accordingly, an "emerging" concept of worker motivation arose, which McGregor here refers to as Theory Y. The following selection will serve to contrast the emerging theory of administration with the traditional approach outlined above in Theory X.

THEORY Y: THE INTEGRATION OF INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS

Douglas McGregor

TO SOME, the preceding analysis will appear unduly harsh. Have we not made major modifications in the management of the human resources of industry during the past quarter century? Have we not recognized the impor-

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tance of people and made vitally significant changes in managerial strategy as a consequence? Do the developments since the twenties in personnel administration and labor relations add up to nothing?

There is no question that important progress has been made in the past two or three decades. During this period the human side of enterprise has become a major preoccupation of management. A tremendous number of policies, programs, and practices which were virtually unknown thirty years ago have become commonplace. The lot of the industrial employee—be he worker, professional, or executive—has improved to a degree which could hardly have been imagined by his counterpart of the nineteen twenties. Management has adopted generally a far more humanitarian set of values; it has successfully striven to give more equitable and more generous treatment to its employees. It has significantly reduced economic hardships, eliminated the more extreme forms of industrial warfare, provided a generally safe and pleasant working environment, *but it has done all these things without changing its fundamental theory of management.* There are exceptions here and there, and they are important; nevertheless, the assumptions of Theory X remain predominant throughout our economy.

Management was subjected to severe pressures during the Great Depression of the thirties. The wave of public antagonism, the open warfare accompanying the unionization of the mass production industries, the general reaction against authoritarianism, the legislation of the New Deal produced a wide "pendulum swing." However, the changes in policy and practice which took place during that and the next decade were primarily adjustments to the increased power of organized labor and to the pressures of public opinion.

Some of the movement was away from "hard" and toward "soft" management, but it was short-lived, and for good reasons. It has become clear that many of the initial strategic interpretations accompanying the "human relations approach" were as naïve as those which characterized the early stages of progressive education. We have now discovered that there is no answer in the simple removal of control—that abdication is not a workable alternative to authoritarianism. We have learned that there is no direct correlation between employee satisfaction and productivity. We recognize today that "industrial democracy" cannot consist in permitting everyone to decide everything, that industrial health does not flow automatically from the elimination of dissatisfaction, disagreement, or even open conflict. Peace is not synonymous with organizational health; socially responsible management is not coextensive with permissive management.

Now that management has regained its earlier prestige and power, it has become obvious that the trend toward "soft" management was a temporary and relatively superficial reaction rather than a general modification of fundamental assumptions or basic strategy. Moreover, while the progress we have made in the past quarter century is substantial, it has reached the point of diminishing returns. The tactical possibilities within conventional managerial strategies have been pretty completely exploited, and significant new developments will be unlikely without major modifications in theory.

THE ASSUMPTIONS OF THEORY Y

There have been few dramatic break-throughs in social science theory like those which have occurred in the physical sciences during the past half century. Nevertheless, the accumulation of knowledge about human behavior in many specialized fields has made possible the formulation of a number of generalizations which provide a modest beginning for new theory with respect to the management of human resources. Some of these assumptions were outlined in the discussion of motivation in Chapter 3. Some others, which will hereafter be referred to as Theory Y, are as follows:

1. *The expenditure of physical and mental effort in work is as natural as play or rest.* The average human being does not inherently dislike work. Depending upon controllable conditions, work may be a source of satisfaction (and will be voluntarily performed) or a source of punishment (and will be avoided if possible).
2. *External control and the threat of punishment are not the only means for bringing about effort toward organizational objectives. Man will exercise self-direction and self-control in the service of objectives to which he is committed.*
3. *Commitment to objectives is a function of the rewards associated with their achievement.* The most significant of such rewards, e.g., the satisfaction of ego and self-actualization needs, can be direct products of effort directed toward organizational objectives.
4. *The average human being learns, under proper conditions, not only to accept but to seek responsibility.* Avoidance of responsibility, lack of ambition, and emphasis on security are generally consequences of experience, not inherent human characteristics.
5. *The capacity to exercise a relatively high degree of imagination, ingenuity, and creativity in the solution of organizational problems is widely, not narrowly, distributed in the population.*
6. *Under the conditions of modern industrial life, the intellectual potentialities of the average human being are only partially utilized.*

These assumptions involve sharply different implications for managerial strategy than do those of Theory X. They are dynamic rather than static: They indicate the possibility of human growth and development; they stress the necessity for selective adaptation rather than for a single absolute form of control. They are not framed in terms of the least common denominator of the factory hand, but in terms of a resource which has substantial potentialities.

Above all, the assumptions of Theory Y point up the fact that the limits on human collaboration in the organizational setting are not limits of human nature but of management's ingenuity in discovering how to realize the potential represented by its human resources. Theory X offers management an easy rationalization for ineffective organizational performance: It is due to the nature of the human resources with which we must work. Theory Y, on

the other hand, places the problems squarely in the lap of management. If employees are lazy, indifferent, unwilling to take responsibility, intransigent, uncreative, uncooperative, Theory Y implies that the causes lie in management's methods of organization and control.

The assumptions of Theory Y are not finally validated. Nevertheless, they are far more consistent with existing knowledge in the social sciences than are the assumptions of Theory X. They will undoubtedly be refined, elaborated, modified as further research accumulates, but they are unlikely to be completely contradicted.

On the surface, these assumptions may not seem particularly difficult to accept. Carrying their implications into practice, however, is not easy. They challenge a number of deeply ingrained managerial habits of thought and action.

THE PRINCIPLE OF INTEGRATION

The central principle of organization which derives from Theory X is that of direction and control through the exercise of authority—what has been called “the scalar principle.” The central principle which derives from Theory Y is that of integration: the creation of conditions such that the members of the organization can achieve their own goals *best* by directing their efforts toward the success of the enterprise. These two principles have profoundly different implications with respect to the task of managing human resources, but the scalar principle is so firmly built into managerial attitudes that the implications of the principle of integration are not easy to perceive.

Someone once said that fish discover water last. The “psychological environment” of industrial management—like water for fish—is so much a part of organizational life that we are unaware of it. Certain characteristics of our society, and of organizational life within it, are so completely established, so pervasive, that we cannot conceive of their being otherwise. As a result, a great many policies and practices and decisions and relationships could only be—it seems—what they are.

Among these pervasive characteristics of organizational life in the United States today is a managerial attitude (stemming from Theory X) toward membership in the industrial organization. It is assumed almost without question that organizational requirements take precedence over the needs of individual members. Basically, the employment agreement is that in return for the rewards which are offered, the individual will accept external direction and control. The very idea of integration and self-control is foreign to our way of thinking about the employment relationship. The tendency, therefore, is either to reject it out of hand (as socialistic, or anarchistic, or inconsistent with human nature) or to twist it unconsciously until it fits existing conceptions.

The concept of integration and self-control carries the implication that the organization will be more effective in achieving its economic objectives if adjustments are made, in significant ways, to the needs and goals of its members.

A district manager in a large, geographically decentralized company is notified that he is being promoted to a policy level position at headquarters. It is a big promotion with a large salary increase. His role in the organization will be a much more powerful one, and he will be associated with the major executives of the firm.

The headquarters group who selected him for this position have carefully considered a number of possible candidates. This man stands out among them in a way which makes him the natural choice. His performance has been under observation for some time, and there is little question that he possesses the necessary qualifications, not only for this opening but for an even higher position. There is genuine satisfaction that such an outstanding candidate is available.

The man is appalled. He doesn't want the job. His goal, as he expresses it, is to be the "best damned district manager in the company." He enjoys his direct associations with operating people in the field, and he doesn't want a policy level job. He and his wife enjoy the kind of life they have created in a small city, and they dislike actively both the living conditions and the social obligations of the headquarters city.

He expresses his feelings as strongly as he can, but his objections are brushed aside. The organization's needs are such that his refusal to accept the promotion would be unthinkable. His superiors say to themselves that of course when he has settled in to the new job, he will recognize that it was the right thing. And so he makes the move.

Two years later he is in an even higher position in the company's headquarters organization, and there is talk that he will probably be the executive vice-president before long. Privately he expresses considerable unhappiness and dissatisfaction. He (and his wife) would "give anything" to be back in the situation he left two years ago.

Within the context of the pervasive assumptions of Theory X, promotions and transfers in large numbers are made by unilateral decision. The requirements of the organization are given priority automatically and almost without question. If the individual's personal goals are considered at all, it is assumed that the rewards of salary and position will satisfy him. Should an individual actually refuse such a move without a compelling reason, such as health or a severe family crisis, he would be considered to have jeopardized his future because of this "selfish" attitude. It is rare indeed for management to give the individual the opportunity to be a genuine and active partner in such a decision, even though it may affect his most important personal goals. Yet the implications following from Theory Y are that the organization is likely to suffer if it ignores these personal needs and goals. In making unilateral decisions with respect to promotion, management is failing to utilize its human resources in the most effective way.

The principle of integration demands that both the organization's and the individual's needs be recognized. Of course, when there is a sincere joint effort to find it, an integrative solution which meets the needs of the individual *and* the organization is a frequent outcome. But not always—and this is the point at which Theory Y begins to appear unrealistic. It collides head on with pervasive attitudes associated with management by direction and control.

The assumptions of Theory Y imply that unless integration is achieved *the organization will suffer*. The objectives of the organization are *not* achieved best by the unilateral administration of promotions, because this form of management by direction and control will not create the commitment which would make available the full resources of those affected. The lesser motivation, the lesser resulting degree of self-direction and self-control are costs which, when added up for many instances over time, will more than offset the gains obtained by unilateral decisions "for the good of the organization."

One other example will perhaps clarify further the sharply different implications of Theory X and Theory Y.

It could be argued that management is already giving a great deal of attention to the principle of integration through its efforts in the field of economic education. Many millions of dollars and much ingenuity have been expended in attempts to persuade employees that their welfare is intimately connected with the success of the free enterprise system and of their own companies. The idea that they can achieve their own goals best by directing their effort toward the objectives of the organization has been explored and developed and communicated in every possible way. Is this not evidence that management is already committed to the principle of integration?

The answer is a definite no. These managerial efforts, with rare exceptions, reflect clearly the influence of the assumptions of Theory X. The central message is an exhortation to the industrial employee to work hard and follow orders in order to protect his job and his standard of living. Much has been achieved, it says, by our established way of running industry, and much more could be achieved if employees would adapt themselves to *management's definition* of what is required. Behind these exhortations lies the expectation that of course the requirements of the organization and its economic success must have priority over the needs of the individual.

Naturally, integration means working together for the success of the enterprise so we all may share in the resulting rewards. But management's implicit assumption is that working together means adjusting to the requirements of the organization *as management perceives them*. In terms of existing views, it seems inconceivable that individuals, seeking their own goals, would further the ends of the enterprise. On the contrary, this would lead to anarchy, chaos, irreconcilable conflicts of self-interest, lack of responsibility, inability to make decisions, and failure to carry out these that were made.

All these consequences, and other worse ones, *would* be inevitable unless conditions could be created such that the members of the organization perceived that they could achieve their own goals *best* by directing their efforts toward the success of the enterprise. If the assumptions of Theory Y are valid, the practical question is whether, and to what extent, such conditions can be created. To that question the balance of this volume is addressed.

THE APPLICATION OF THEORY Y

In the physical sciences there are many theoretical phenomena which cannot be achieved in practice. Absolute zero and a perfect vacuum are examples.

Others, such as nuclear power, jet aircraft, and human space flight, are recognized theoretically to be possible long before they became feasible. This fact does not make theory less useful. If it were not for our theoretical convictions, we would not even be attempting to develop the means for human flight into space today. In fact, were it not for the development of physical science theory during the past century and a half, we would still be depending upon the horse and buggy and the sailing vessel for transportation. Virtually all significant technological developments wait on the formulation of relevant theory.

Similarly, in the management of the human resources of industry, the assumptions and theories about human nature at any given time limit innovation. Possibilities are not recognized, innovating efforts are not undertaken, until theoretical conceptions lay a groundwork for them. Assumptions like those of Theory X permit us to conceive of certain possible ways of organizing and directing human effort, *but not others*. Assumptions like those of Theory Y open up a range of possibilities for new managerial policies and practices. As in the case of the development of new physical science theory, some of these possibilities are not immediately feasible, and others may forever remain unattainable. They may be too costly, or it may be that we simply cannot discover how to create the necessary "hardware."

There is substantial evidence that the potentialities of the average human being are far above those which we typically realize in industry today. If our assumptions are like those of Theory X, we will not even recognize the existence of these potentialities and there will be no reason to devote time, effort, or money to discovering how to realize them. If, however, we accept assumptions like those of Theory Y, we will be challenged to innovate, to discover new ways of organizing and directing human effort, even though we recognize that the perfect organization, like the perfect vacuum, is practically out of reach.

We need not be overwhelmed by the dimensions of the managerial task implied by Theory Y. To be sure, a large mass production operation in which the workers have been organized by a militant and hostile union faces management with problems which appear at present to be insurmountable with respect to the application of the principle of integration. It may be decades before sufficient knowledge will have accumulated to make such an application feasible. Applications of Theory Y will have to be tested initially in more limited ways and under more favorable circumstances. However, a number of applications of Theory Y *in managing managers and professional people* are possible today. Within the managerial hierarchy, the assumptions can be tested and refined, techniques can be invented and skill acquired in their use. As knowledge accumulates, some of the problems of application at the worker level in large organizations may appear less baffling than they do at present.

Perfect integration of organizational requirements and individual goals and needs is, of course, not a realistic objective. In adopting this principle, we seek that degree of integration in which the individual can achieve his goals

best by directing his efforts toward the success of the organization. "Best" means that this alternative will be more attractive than the many others available to him: indifference, irresponsibility, minimal compliance, hostility, sabotage. It means that he will continuously be encouraged to develop and utilize voluntarily his capacities, his knowledge, his skill, his ingenuity in ways which contribute to the success of the enterprise.¹

Acceptance of Theory Y does not imply abdication, or "soft" management, or "permissiveness." As was indicated above, such notions stem from the acceptance of authority as the *single* means of managerial control, and from attempts to minimize its negative consequences. Theory Y assumes that people will exercise self-direction and self-control in the achievement of organizational objectives *to the degree that they are committed to those objectives*. If that commitment is small, only a slight degree of self-direction and self-control will be likely, and a substantial amount of external influence will be necessary. If it is large, many conventional external controls will be relatively superfluous, and to some extent self-defeating. Managerial policies and practices materially affect this degree of commitment.

Authority is an inappropriate means for obtaining commitment to objectives. Other forms of influence—help in achieving integration, for example—are required for this purpose. Theory Y points to the possibility of lessening the emphasis on external forms of control to the degree that commitment to organizational objectives can be achieved. Its underlying assumptions emphasize the capacity of human beings for self-control, and the consequent possibility of greater managerial reliance on other means of influence. Nevertheless, it is clear that authority *is* an appropriate means for control under certain circumstances—particularly where genuine commitment to objectives cannot be achieved. The assumptions of Theory Y do not deny the appropriateness of authority, but they do deny that it is appropriate for all purposes and under all circumstances.

Many statements have been made to the effect that we have acquired today the know-how to cope with virtually any technological problems which may arise, and that the major industrial advances of the next half century

¹ A recent, highly significant study of the sources of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among managerial and professional people suggests that these opportunities for "self-actualization" are the essential requirements of both job satisfaction and high performance. The researchers find that "the wants of employees divide into two groups. One group revolves around the need to develop in one's occupation as a source of personal growth. The second group operates as an essential base to the first and is associated with fair treatment in compensation, supervision, working conditions, and administrative practices. *The fulfillment of the needs of the second group does not motivate the individual to high levels of job satisfaction and . . . to extra performance on the job.* All we can expect from satisfying [this second group of needs] is the prevention of dissatisfaction and poor job performance." Frederick Herzberg, Bernard Mausner, and Barbara Bloch Snyderman, *The Motivation to Work*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959, pp. 114–115. (Italics mine.)

will occur on the human side of enterprise. Such advances, however, are improbable so long as management continues to organize and direct and control its human resources on the basis of assumptions—tacit or explicit—like those of Theory X. Genuine innovation, in contrast to a refurbishing and patching of present managerial strategies, requires first the acceptance of less limiting assumptions about the nature of the human resources we seek to control, and second the readiness to adapt selectively to the implications contained in those new assumptions. Theory Y is an invitation to innovation.

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COMMUNICATION ASSISTS ADMINISTRATION

The Hawthorne Studies also demonstrated that the members of the work group function best when they are aware of the events within the organization. Conversely, a lack of knowledge about organizational goals, attainments, and problems tends to slow production and leave a climate for the initiation of rumors. Face-to-face communication is the most effective, but, when this is not possible, other means of "getting the word around" must be found. In the following selection, F. J. Roethlisberger deals with the communication skills which the administrator must possess, and points out difficulties which may arise in administrative communication within the group.

OF WORDS AND MEN

F. J. Roethlisberger

THE THESIS of this chapter will consist of two points: (1) a good portion of the executive's environment is verbal, far more than he sometimes seems to realize; (2) little attention has been explicitly given, either by the executive or by students of administration, to the skills required in handling the verbal environment. The executive often has no conceptual framework in terms of which he can deal with it, nothing comparable at least to the explicit skills with which he handles his external nonhuman environment.

THE EXECUTIVE'S ENVIRONMENT IS VERBAL

That a good portion of the executive's environment is verbal seems hardly open to question. In discussions, meetings, and conferences the verbal atmosphere is thick. The executive is dealing largely with words, symbols, and abstractions. Of course, this applies to any one of us. We are all responding to words and other stimuli involving meaning. It seems to me obvious, however, that the higher the executive goes in an organization the more important it becomes for him, if he is to handle effectively one aspect of his job, to deal competently with his verbal environment.

On the one hand, he has to become skillful in using words that will appeal to his listeners' sentiments. In trying to secure the coöperation of individuals in the common purposes of the enterprise the executive often has to practice the art of persuasion. He uses words that he hopes will produce the appropriate effects on his listeners. In statements to stockholders, employees, and customers, the executive has to resort to words, both oral and written. In handling complaints and grievances, the executive is using, as well as listening to, words.

On the other hand, the executive has to be able to interpret skillfully what people say, for in so far as his work involves the interactions of human beings his data come from what he hears as well as from what he sees and does.¹ Whether he likes it or not, he has to practice this difficult art; yet he has no explicit tools for doing it. He either picks up the skill intuitively or tries to organize his work so that the need for exercising it is at a minimum. This latter method is likely to be unsuccessful because it leads him to busy himself more

¹ These statements are similar to those made about the social scientist by Professor L. J. Henderson in *Three Lectures on Concrete Sociology* (privately distributed), p. 13.

and more with logical, statistical, and oversimplified abstractions or lofty principles about human motivation and conduct. In doing so he loses touch with the concrete situation before him.

In short, words play an important role in all the major functions of the executive. If this proposition is true, it seems sensible to ask what the executive needs to know about words and their functions and what skills he can explicitly develop in interpreting what people say.

THE FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE OR WORDS

Let us consider some of the different functions of language or words.² In the first place, words can be used to refer to events and happenings outside of our skin: this can be called the logico-experimental function of language. In this way words are used by scientists or by two or more people engaged in a discussion of matters with which they have firsthand, familiar, and intuitive acquaintance, as well as a common background of systematic knowledge. The words and symbols used by the speaker refer to events, and uniformities among events, which occur primarily outside of him or the listener, and to which they can go for observation and check in case of disagreement. Most of us spend only a very small portion of our day using words in this strict sense. We are much more likely to be engaged in less arduous and more pleasant verbal practices.

In a social conversation, for example, the situation is likely to be quite different. When two or more people are talking together, what is primarily happening is an interaction of sentiments rather than anything strictly logical. One person is using words to express certain sentiments, to which the other responds with similar or opposing sentiments; or one person tries to influence the other by using symbols that will have a favorable reaction on the latter's sentiments. This can be called the "emotive"³ function of language, as opposed to the logico-experimental. The skillful politician is a good example of a person using words in this way.

There is a third function of language which has received considerable attention during the past two or three decades. Through words man not only communicates but satisfies his desires. I refer to the day-dreaming, reverie, and air-castle building in which we all indulge and from which we obtain considerable satisfaction. A good portion of our day is spent in using words to satisfy our desires in this way.

That "Language serves a man not only to express something but also to express himself,"⁴ every executive should realize and explicitly take into account. The fact that language has different functions and that these functions,

² For the purposes of this paper it would be inappropriate to discuss the many different theories of language. Only three well-recognized functions of language will be mentioned to illustrate some of the problems involved in interpreting what people say.

³ Taken from C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925), p. 257.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 261 (statement by G. von der Gabelentz, quoted by Ogden and Richards).

except under special circumstances, are rarely distinguished complicates our problem. Words refer not only to things happening outside our skins, but also to our attitudes, feelings, and sentiments toward these objects and events. This means that many statements are expressed which have little or no meaning apart from the personal situation of the person who makes them. This not only makes the interpretation of what people say difficult, it also makes it imperative to do a skillful job, because if we refer words to a wrong context we are likely to misunderstand what a person is telling us. The channels of communication in a business organization often become clogged because words are referred to wrong contexts.

The problem would be simple if when people spoke they labeled what it was they were telling us; if, for example, they would say: "Now I am talking about simple events and uniformities among them in our common experience." "Now I am expressing my sentiments and attitude toward something." "Now I am day-dreaming and satisfying my ego." "Now I am trying to disguise my sentiments as logic." "Now I am trying to influence your sentiments by using these particular words." "Now you may think I am talking about my supervisor but really I am talking about my unhappy experiences with my father." Unfortunately (or fortunately, depending upon our point of view), this is not often true. We very seldom express our sentiments *as sentiments*. One of the most time-consuming pastimes of the human mind is to rationalize sentiments and to disguise sentiments as logic.

THE SKILL OF INTERPRETING WHAT PEOPLE SAY

All I have said so far shows clearly that the interpretation of what people say is a difficult business. There is nothing to be gained by pretending that the job is simple. It is something that some people learn from experience and at which some people—physicians, lawyers, and businessmen—become exceedingly skillful. (These skillful people, however, often cannot communicate their skill.) The technique cannot be learned without practice but, again, for some people practice is not enough. No matter how much experience they have in listening to or in using words, they never acquire any great ability in this field. They continue to deal with words as constants rather than as variables, as if they had universal meanings rather than different meanings for different people under different conditions and situations. Some academic people are the worst offenders in this respect. Some scientists and engineers can never learn that words outside of the limited area of their specialty have different uses and important social functions.

Dr. Henderson has said: "Effective rules of procedure in interpreting what men say have not yet been developed. . . . Therefore we are in respect of this kind of work still more or less in the master-apprentice stage."⁵ However, in the past twelve years the research group with which I am associated has had considerable experience in trying to interpret what people say. It may be of

⁵ Henderson, *Three Lectures on Concrete Sociology*, p. 19.

some interest, therefore, if I try to state more explicitly some of the rules or discriminations which we have worked out. It may seem rather absurd to try to communicate a skill which, like any other, is in certain respects ineffable. However, inasmuch as all of us are practicing it, some more successfully than others, it can do no harm and perhaps some good to try to state more explicitly its nature. What I shall say, of course, can be only very rough, approximate, and tentative.

Getting People to Talk about Matters Important to Them

When I am confronted with a complex situation involving the interactions of people, what people say is necessarily an important part of the data from which I have to make a diagnosis. Therefore, my first object is to get people to talk freely and frankly about matters which are important to them. This situation in which I try to get people to talk I shall call the interview. In the interview I use a number of simple rules or ideas: I listen. I do not interrupt. I do not give advice. I avoid leading questions. I refrain from making moral judgments about the opinions expressed. I do not express my own opinions, beliefs, or sentiments. I avoid argument at all cost. I do this by seeing to it that the speaker's sentiments do not react on my own. Inasmuch as these rules have been stated elsewhere, I shall not elaborate on them here.⁶

Orientation to Speaker

Although it is sometimes difficult to get people to talk freely about matters of importance to them, it is not nearly so difficult as the next part of my job. While I am listening intently and sympathetically to what the person is saying, my mind is not just a blank. I am listening for something; there is some framework in which my thought is set. I am oriented to the speaker in a certain way. To take an example, let us assume that an employee in a large factory is speaking to me: he says, "The supervisors in this company are a bunch of goddam slavedrivers." What is my attitude toward such a remark?

First, I am not interested in the verbal definition of the word "slavedriver." Secondly, I do not allow my sentiments to be acted upon by this word, nor do I try to argue the speaker out of his belief. Thirdly, I am not assuming that there exists one particular quality in some supervisors to which this word refers; that is, I do not assume that because there is a word "slavedriver" there is only one thing to which it refers. Finally, I am not assuming that truth or falsity has anything to do with the statement.⁷

How, then, am I oriented to such a remark? In the first place, I assume that

⁶ These rules for interviewing are described more fully in the following publications: L. J. Henderson, "Physician and Patient as a Social System," *The New England Journal of Medicine*, vol. 212, no. 18, May, 1935, pp. 819-823; Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (New York: Macmillan, 1933), pp. 91-92; F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), pp. 270-291.

⁷ Perhaps I should say, "I try not to let myself take these customary attitudes toward words," but this is often easier said than done.

this person is expressing his feelings and sentiments. I assume that these feelings and sentiments are not "words," although words are being used to express them. I assume that I shall not be able to understand the feelings and sentiments expressed until I find the context to which they refer. In order to find the context, I am thinking of those events in the life of the employee to which his statement may refer, and also of the social situations in which they occurred. In other words, I am hunting for the referents of the statement. Therefore, I try to get the employee to talk about the particular supervisors (Supervisor 1, Supervisor 2, etc.) with whom he has been associated—when, where, how often, under what conditions, and so on. I am listening for what these particular supervisors did and under what conditions they did it, what meanings the employee assigned to their behavior, what the employee did and under what conditions he did it, and so on.

But more than this, I am also thinking of, and trying to get the employee to talk about, events in his previous history or in his associations with people outside the factory to which events involving interactions with people within the factory may be related *for the employee*. I do this because I assume that this particular employee's unpleasant feelings about a particular supervisor are a resultant of two sets of factors: (1) what he (the employee) is bringing to the situation in terms of hopes and expectations (sentiments), and (2) the social demands which the situation is making of him.

(1) In order to find out what the employee is bringing to the situation in terms of sentiments, I need to know something about the meaningful associations he has had with other people and groups before coming to the factory. I assume that from these previous associations he has been conditioned to a certain way of life and to certain hopes, fears, and expectations. In terms of this kind of data, I can see more clearly what sentiments of the employee are being violated, disregarded, or misunderstood by a particular supervisor. I may find, for example, that the employee's attitude toward supervision is rooted somewhere in his attitude toward authority as conditioned by his early family situation; on anyone in authority he may be projecting the parental image.

(2) But if I stopped here I might still be missing an important context to which his statement may refer. This worker is not an isolated individual. He has relations with other people. He is part of a social system called the factory. He is part of a smaller social system called the department. He is part of a still smaller social system called the work group—those people with whom he is associating daily at work. It may be that in the small work group this employee is an informal leader. The workers respect him as a craftsman; they go to him for help about their work; they go to him with their troubles. He instructs them about difficult jobs and he listens to their grievances. Perhaps the foreman of his department does not recognize this employee's status in the informal work situation or, if he does, has not seen to it that his superiors also recognize it. Perhaps through ignorance of the situation he has recently promoted a younger and shorter-service man to a supervisory job in this department, a man whose efficiency record is good, and who is therefore easier

to recommend to his superiors for promotion, but who is looked upon by his own work associates as a "rate buster," "chiseler," or "squealer." Perhaps it is the disturbances within this social situation to which the employee's statement, "The supervisors in this company are a bunch of goddam slavedrivers," refers.

I need not emphasize that it is important to know what a person is really complaining about before trying to act on the verbal manifestation of his complaint. Otherwise, we shall be dealing only with words, or symptoms, rather than with the situation determining the grievance.

So far, I have told you of my attitude in an interview toward a person when he is complaining about another person, but my attitude is very similar if he is complaining about nonhuman objects and events in his experience. (I say "in an interview" because this is not my ordinary social attitude.) If a person tells me, for example, that his desk is too small, I do not try to convince him that the size of his desk is sufficient for his purposes; I am thinking of the social setting in which desks appear in his work situation. What human relationship does the desk symbolize for him? It may be that in his organization the higher in the business structure the person goes, the bigger the desk becomes. It may be that the person who is talking to me is a college man with a burning desire to succeed. He may be indulging in a little wishful thinking; by getting a bigger desk he may think he is elevating himself in the company. When he complains that his desk is too small, he may really be telling me about his dissatisfaction with his advancement in the company. If so, I get him to talk about that.

DIAGNOSING HUMAN SITUATIONS

In discussing how I interpret what people say, I have also been describing how I go about diagnosing a personal situation, that is, how I go from what people say to what their situation is. Obviously, it is the situation to which the words refer that is important and not the words themselves. *It is the situation and not the words that we want to understand.* I assume here that just as control of our physical environment came when we were able to control the objects and events to which words refer, so human control begins when we can control the human situations to which words refer.

In diagnosing human situations I try to avoid two tricks which words can play: (1) The danger of treating alike by words things that are different and unique, and (2) the danger of separating by words things that are inseparable in fact.⁸

Treating Alike by Words Situations that Are Different

In our ordinary language we often use one word to refer to many unique objects in many different settings and in many different stages of process. For

⁸ For the ideas expressed in this section I am greatly indebted to A. Korzybski, *Science and Sanity* (New York: The Science Press Printing Co., 1933).

example, we have one word "chair" to refer to many unique objects, such as Chair 1, Chair 2, Chair 3, etc. We have one word "chair" to refer to Chair 1, which Smith 1 (the boss) occupies, and Chair 2, which Smith 2 (the secretary) occupies. The behavior of people toward the person who occupies Chair 1 is quite different from their behavior toward the person using Chair 2. The duties, obligations, and privileges of the occupant of Chair 1 are quite different from those of the occupant of Chair 2. Very seldom, at least in large business organizations, does Smith 1 sit on Chair 2. Even less often does Smith 2 sit on Chair 1, at least if Smith 1 is present; it would be considered inappropriate behavior if she did, if not by Smith 1 then by Smith 3 (Smith 1's boss). Moreover, we have the same word "chair" to refer to Chair 3 when it was in the boss's office ten years ago and Chair 3 when it has become old and dilapidated and is being used by the janitor in the basement.

Thus, our ordinary language tends to make the objects and events in our experience appear in isolation, that is, apart from their context. This is particularly true of common objects, such as chairs and desks, which occur in events involving human interactions. They appear in a certain time setting, that is, they are preceded by certain events and followed by others; moreover, they appear in a certain social setting. Therefore, if we pay exclusive attention to words and exclude the situations to which the words refer we miss very important differences of context. We fall into the error of assuming that because the same word can be applied to many different objects and events in different situations they are in some way the same. As a result, we fail to notice differences, and we read into our experience similarities where differences exist. Therefore, whenever I am concerned with overt or verbal behavior involving the interactions of human beings I am alert to differences in situation and I look for differences before I look for uniformities.

Let me give an example of what I mean. Let us assume that we have been called in to study a large company which has had in operation for a number of years a bonus plan for its executives; the management is interested to know whether or not the bonus is acting as an incentive. How do we approach such a problem? Can we assume that because there is one word "executive" all the persons to whom this label applies are the same and the "bonus" means the same thing to each of them? Can we assume that because there is one word "incentive" there is one thing to which this word applies? Can we determine the effects of the bonus on something before we diagnose what that something is? Or do we look first at the particular people, the particular interrelations among them, and the particular situations in which the words "executive," "incentive," and "bonus" appear?

If we follow this last procedure, what do we find? We find Executive 1 with a particular background and social conditioning (private hopes, fears, sentiments, which we shall refer to as SC_1) in association with people in a particular department (Department 1) and a particular division (Division 1), i.e., a member of a particular social system (codes, customs, and social

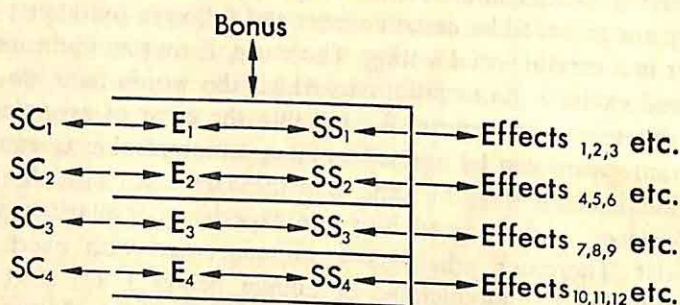
routines of behavior, which we shall refer to as SS_1). Schematically the situation can be represented as follows: ⁹

$$SC_1 \longleftrightarrow E_1 \longleftrightarrow SS_1$$

This is a shorthand way of representing a particular executive's situation as "a system of equilibrium" resulting from (1) certain demands which he is bringing to the situation as a result of his particular past personal history, and (2) certain social demands which are being made of him as a member of a particular social system. The situation of Executive 2 in Department 2 and Division 2 would look like this:

$$SC_2 \longleftrightarrow E_2 \longleftrightarrow SS_2$$

After studying the executives in the company from this point of view, let us ask what effects the bonus might be expected to have. Schematically again, we may represent the situation for four different executives in four different divisions of the company as follows:



Looking at the problem from this point of view, we might expect to find, first, that there are as many different effects from the bonus as there are different executives or different kinds of executive situations. Secondly, we might find that there are as many different effects from the bonus as there are different social systems. We might find that a bonus plan is in fact a different system as applied to different social organizations. Only after we have broken down our data into these differences, however, do we look for uniformities. Only in this way can we avoid reading verbal similarities into things that are different.

With this kind of approach, what happens to our original question of whether or not the bonus acts as an incentive? Like many questions that the human mind can devise, it becomes meaningless, and like many meaningless questions, such as "How many angels can sit on the point of a needle?" it has no meaningful answer. Some of us find it difficult to throw a question overboard. We feel that *because we can frame a simple question there must be a simple answer*, and to give up such a question is like part-

⁹ This is, of course, an oversimplified representation. The executive is a member of more than one social system. However, for the present purposes of illustration, this representation of the executive's situation is sufficient.

ing with our best friend or our favorite hat. To those who can free themselves from sentimental attachments to words, however, it becomes apparent that by giving up the question nothing is lost—at least, nothing is lost from the point of view of knowledge; indeed, there is something gained. We know in fact some of the effects the bonus is now having on particular persons in particular positions in a particular organization. In these terms new questions can be raised by means of which we may learn more; and from this new knowledge the bonus plan may be better evaluated.

Separating by Words Things that Are Inseparable in Fact

In diagnosing human situations there is also the danger of separating by words things that are inseparable in fact. It is important, in tracing expressions of sentiment to the events in a person's experience to which they refer, to keep the events in their context; in other words, it is important to keep together those things which are together when experienced.

For example, from the above diagram it can be seen that the executive is kept together with the social system to which he is contributing his services, and together with his social conditioning. These things are kept together because they are together in his experience. An executive apart from a personal history would be something no one has seen anywhere, any time. An executive apart from a coöperative system ceases to be an executive. He may be an executive out of a job; but this is a different context from that of our illustration.

THREE DIFFERENT PERSONAL SITUATIONS

So far, we have considered how to get a person to talk freely about things that are important to him and how the listener is oriented to the speaker in order to interpret skillfully what he says. We have seen some of the ways in which words can prevent us from understanding a concrete situation. We have seen the necessity of looking for differences in our data before searching for simple uniformities. Although each human situation is unique, there are certain uniformities which begin to emerge after a large number of people have been interviewed. There are three uniformities which I have found among a number of persons I have interviewed and in terms of which I make my first rough diagnosis. As I listen to a person in the manner I have described, I am roughly asking three questions and I am roughly expecting three answers:

(1) Am I listening to a person who is well related to the work group of which he is a member; and, therefore, am I listening essentially to the sentiments of the social system to which he belongs—the routines of collaboration of his group—the norms and codes of behavior of his group—the organizational way of thinking and the customary way of doing things? Or am I listening to a person who in practically everything he says is expressing a lack of relationship, or a defective relationship, to his work group? In the latter case,

(2) Am I listening to the "obsessive thinking" of a person who, outside of the family, has never achieved in all his experience an executive or intimate relationship with his contemporaries or with his own age group, or

(3) Am I listening to a person whose disequilibrium, or lack of orientation to his social surrounding, is not so much due to his early social conditioning as to his inability to adjust readily and without assistance to changes in his present environment? Is this a man who has lost his way because his customary and routine relations with people were altered too rapidly by demotion, promotion, transference, or some technical change in his work?

People in these three quite different human situations will respond to the systems, policies, and practices about them in three quite different ways. In any business organization (if there is not a strike in process) there will probably be a large proportion of Class 1. Wherever there is a great deal of discontent, one can probably find a number of the Class 3 group. In any large concern, however, no matter how well run, there are likely to be Class 3 situations which need attention, although some of them recover their equilibrium without any help. Class 2 people will probably not stay very long in a business organization without considerable attention being given them; they are likely to be found among the newcomers.

THE EXECUTIVE NOT ONLY LISTENS; HE ALSO USES WORDS

We have considered the executive as a listener who is trying to interpret skillfully what people say in order that he may be better able to understand and control the human situations about him. But the executive not only listens; he speaks and uses words in written and oral statements to other members of the organization. As a result, other people in the organization are in a position of understanding or misunderstanding, correctly interpreting or misinterpreting, what he says. This raises a number of problems concerning the communication of matters that are related to the feelings and sentiments of people. Executives are not always communicating strictly logical propositions.

With the use of language for the purpose of transmitting factual information we shall not be concerned; although errors may arise, they are the kind of errors which sooner or later can be corrected. But matters are not so simple when language is used to influence behavior by appealing to feelings and sentiments. In this area misunderstandings multiply rapidly, and they are difficult to correct.

It is not our purpose here to consider the different techniques of verbal persuasion that have been developed in advertising and mediums of propaganda. We shall consider the use of words for persuasion only in relation to the administrative context, and in terms of this context we shall make only a few observations.

It is interesting to note that in business today, particularly in manufacturing organizations, it is not considered quite appropriate for the executive to

indulge in statements of sentiment when talking to his employees and fellow associates. This form of behavior is the province of his salesforce when appealing to a particular customer, or when talking to the public on the air, or through other mediums of advertising. With regard to employer-employee relations, however, the executive code dictates that employers should interact with their employees merely on the basis of fact. This code has led to a curious state of affairs. It has blinded some executives to what is going on around them. It has forced some into a position of trying to handle matters of sentiment as if they were matters of fact. And when matters of sentiment so blatantly arise that even the most obtuse cannot fail to label them for what they are, they have no techniques for dealing with them.

Skills Involved in Handling Matters of Sentiment

This latter case was forcibly brought to my attention the other day by the captain of a ship in the merchant marine. He had gone to sea as a boy and had been brought up in the tradition that the captain is master of the ship: his word at sea is law. Although he was kindly toward his crew, all his reflexes had been conditioned to this tradition. As a result, for years he failed to see that his authority depended only upon the fact that his junior officers and crew also accepted and upheld the tradition. And then things at sea began to change. People who had not been so well conditioned for coöperation, and particularly for coöperation on the basis of this tradition, began to join his crew. The code began to change. The captain had to meet with his crew and listen to some of their complaints and grievances. In one instance he was confronted with a long list of complaints about the food. One item on this list was to the effect that the crew did not get "seconds on jello." Now, it was at this point in the captain's story that his face became flushed and speech failed him. But his gestures of exasperation and frustration expressed only too well what he could not say in words. Imagine him—the captain—having to deal with people who made such ridiculous charges! Moreover, the actual fact was that they *could* get "seconds on jello." In the face of this problem, the captain was helpless. All his conditioned reflexes could do was to produce sputtering noises. He had no skills for handling this ridiculous situation. His sense of humor was gone; his ordinary social insight was gone. He could not remember the social mechanisms he had used when he was a boy to "get somebody's goat." In the face of this situation, the captain could only talk about "communism," "fifth-column activities," "agitators," "aliens," and then, as the story developed, get sick with a case of shingles.¹⁰

This is not intended as a funny story, nor to cast any aspersions on the captain. None of us would want to be in his position. He was up against a difficult human problem, even though it manifested itself at the level of

¹⁰ It may be well to point out that the captain is a Class 3 situation as above described. His customary ways of dealing with people were no longer adequate in the new situation in which he found himself.

"seconds on jello." The only point I want to make is to show the state of affairs into which we can get when we try to handle matters of sentiment as if they were matters of fact. For the captain, a difficult problem of human diagnosis was involved which entailed going from the symptoms to the underlying human situation among his crew. But for this he received no help; he had no skills, and his conditioned reflexes could only make matters worse both for himself and for the crew.

The Tendency to Deal with Employees on a Basis of Facts Alone

In the past several years, considerable emphasis has been placed upon providing information to employees about the economic conditions of the business. Many concerns have prepared interesting, attractive, graphic reports which would be intelligible to the layman. Underlying this tendency to communicate simple economic facts to employees has been the assumption that labor difficulties primarily arose because the employees were not sufficiently acquainted with the economic purposes and problems of the company. That there is some truth in this assumption may be granted; the interesting thing to note, however, is again the tendency to deal with employees on a basis of facts alone. It happens, however, that loyalty and confidence are matters of feeling and sentiment and are not necessarily secured by this approach, as any skillful politician knows.

In collective bargaining activities the same tendency prevails in many organizations. Elaborate charts and diagrams are prepared to show that the charges or demands made by the union are not accurate or reasonable in terms of the facts, sometimes even to show that in fact they are served "seconds on jello." In the battle to decide who is right and who is wrong, human situations involving simple matters of sentiment are ignored.

THE EXERCISE OF HUMAN CONTROL BY LISTENING BEFORE TALKING

That the executive in dealing with human beings should take on some of the behavior patterns of the politician is not being suggested by these observations. Nor is it being recommended that the executive should make Fourth of July speeches, although in this connection it is interesting to note the bifurcation in our modern industrial society: on the one hand, the industrial leader is supposed to secure the loyalty of his employees by appealing to facts, while, on the other hand, the political leader is allowed to secure the loyalty of his constituents by appealing to emotion. What is being suggested is more simple and is of this order:

- (1) There are many words used by executives that not only communicate information, they convey sentiments.
- (2) The persons to whom the words are addressed also have sentiments; their sentiments vary with age, sex, personal situation, official rank and informal position in the organization.
- (3) Because these sentiments in part relate to the different positions which

people occupy in the organization, then it follows that some words which are very meaningful to some members, or some parts of the organization, may have little or no meaning or different meanings to other members and other parts of the organization.

(4) This problem demands serious consideration. It is the problem of the effect on different members and on different parts of an organization of words used by the executive when he gives an instruction or order, when he announces a policy, or when he prepares a statement addressed to employees or to stockholders. This point is very simple. The legal jargon of a lawyer may give aesthetic satisfaction to him and his fellow brethren, but it may send shivers down the spine of the layman. The exact and precise jargon of the engineer may not be communicating "facts" to the employees who are being addressed; it may be transmitting feelings of apprehension. Sometimes also, symbols may lose their customary and traditional significance, as our example of the captain in relation to his crew well illustrated. For seamen who demand "seconds on jello" symbols evoking the traditions of the sea have lost their power to motivate.

(5) Therefore, when talking to an individual or group, it is important to address oneself to their sentiments, so that on the one hand what one says will not be misunderstood, and on the other hand it will have the effect on the listeners that the speaker intends. But how does one address oneself to the listeners' sentiments? How does one know what they are? Here is where the "skill of listening" previously described comes in. This skill allows one to go from the words to the sentiments being expressed; but still more important, it allows one to go from the sentiments being expressed to the human situations underlying them. Words addressed to concrete human situations are likely to be more appropriate.

(6) Therefore, it is important for the executive *to listen* before talking. By this means he comes to understand the sentiments and situations of the person or group before he practices the art of persuasion or assurance in order to secure their loyalty, confidence, and coöperation. In any large-scale organization, where many layers of supervision separate the top from the bottom, these dual skills are needed. Only when the people at the top of the organization understand better the feelings and sentiments of the people at the bottom can they communicate to the bottom what to top management is important, in a manner which will obtain the understanding and acceptance of those at the bottom. This is the exercise of human control by "understanding" and not by "verbal magic."

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Discuss examples of administrative decisions which seemed to be based upon an application of Theory X. Was there justification for the administrator to act according to this theory of management? What might the administrator have done differently had he or she been operating according to Theory Y?

2. What is the "scientific process" of problem-solving? What difficulties does one encounter when applying the scientific process to human affairs?
3. Are some administrative decisions in school administration best made in terms of the organization's goals, rather than in terms of the workers' welfare? Illustrate.
4. What are the basic elements of the communication process? Are these generally well-known and widely practiced by the school administrators of your acquaintance?
5. Illustrate a lack of proper communications in a school situation and show how the confusion which resulted might have been avoided by the skillful use of communications procedures.

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PART III

Emerging Concepts
of School Administration

The difficulty in life is the choice.

GEORGE MOORE,
The Bending of the Bough

The leadership task of the supervisor would degenerate into a relatively simple one if he could always predict with some degree of reliability what any teacher's behavior in reaction to a given environmental stimulus might be. He could then standardize his supervisory techniques, and supervision would become a routine process.

A. JOHN BARTKY,
Supervision as Human Relations

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely
players.

They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,
As You Like It

Not only does the office distinguish the
man, but the man the office.

PLUTARCH

A profession . . . is a conspiracy against
the laity.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

CHAPTER 7

Administration as a Process

THE PROCESS OF ADMINISTRATION

One can visualize school administration, and indeed all administration, in terms of its content. Thus viewed, administration may be said to consist of the tasks which administrators perform, that is, the job to be done. The setting of goals, purchasing of supplies, winning of moral and financial support, and the employment of personnel might be said to be the tasks of administration, among others. In the framework of content, the emphasis is thus upon the innumerable details of the task of operating the public school enterprise.

Administration may also be visualized in terms of the process by which a decision is reached. In the community, this may involve not only the board of education and its chief executive officer, the superintendent of schools, but also the professional staff, the community's organizations, and even the children. The process of reaching a decision, or decisions, is quite complicated, and is chronological in nature, as is any process. Because so many persons are vitally involved in decision-making concerning the public schools, the process sometimes is misunderstood, as illustrated in the following excerpt from one of the leading national magazines. Although the problems outlined are unique to each community, nevertheless they are not unusual in America today. Considered within the framework of decision-making in public education, the examples cited illustrate the need for a clearer understanding of the means by which decisions affecting public education are reached.

WHO'S IN CHARGE?

HALLOWED tradition gives American parents enormous influence on their schools—and on the people hired to run them. Swallowing hard, most school superintendents would say that by and large this state of affairs works to the general satisfaction of both. But there are some glaring exceptions, where the violence of dispute between school board and school boss has split communities, demoralized teachers and distracted students.

Cleveland School Superintendent William Levenson recently resigned in anger after the school-board president took a policy squabble to the newspapers. Chicago's strong-minded Benjamin Willis quit when the city board insisted on a broader, faster student-transfer plan than he wanted, returned to the job only after he got his own way. For months, New York City's able Calvin Gross has been forced to conduct a running battle with his board.

"ATHEISTIC UNITARIANS" Nowhere is the struggle more bitter than in the swollen Magnolia School District of Anaheim, Calif., where the population has soared from 10,000 to 115,000 in a decade. In an atmosphere of raging partisan politics that has pitted Birchites and conservatives against anti-Birchites and liberals, the five-member school board has become an ideological football kicked back and forth by all sides.

Last week the district held its third recall election in three years to decide which faction had the majority to hire a superintendent it would find congenial.

The latest phase of the battle began in April, 1963 when three conservatives elected to the school board hired Charles Wilson to administer eight elementary schools with 6,400 pupils. Wilson soon offended many citizens, whom he called "atheistic Unitarians," by distributing monthly patriotic and religious messages to kids in his schools. When Wilson imposed a purely phonetic system of reading, seven school principals resigned, and anti-Wilson teachers, joined by a newly formed citizens' group, agitated for a recall election to oust the trio that had backed the superintendent. In last week's voting, 60% of the district's 10,000 registered voters streamed to the polls and by a surprisingly comfortable margin purged the three conservatives.

POPULAR PRINCIPAL If educational aims were obscured in Anaheim by public interference with the delicate relationship between school boards and superintendents, they have been virtually obliterated in an acrid fog of controversy that has settled on the isolated Massachusetts island of Nantucket.

Trouble there began brewing among the 3,500 year-round residents in 1955 when a Harvard-based team of outside educators surveyed the island's

three schools, recommended some mild reforms. To some Nantucketers, who are suspicious in principle of off-islanders, the whole idea smacked of progressive education—and higher school costs. When Off-Islander Charles H. Minnich, who has been resident superintendent of schools only since 1962, proposed similar ideas this year, the already restive opposition went out for his scalp. Rallying around the popular local high school principal, Mrs. Mary P. Walker, who is satisfied with the status quo, conservatives won a three-member majority on the five-member school board. By a 3–2 vote at their first meeting in March, the board canceled Minnich's contract. Now Minnich is suing the three-member majority for breach of contract. At the same time, the Massachusetts Teachers Association is weighing an investigation of the Nantucket school system, which could result in a boycott of the island by teachers throughout the state.

CLEAR WARNING Whether the current argument between school boards and administrators is over politics and phonics as in Anaheim, over *de facto* segregation as in Cleveland, Chicago and, to some extent, New York, or over curriculum reforms and fierce local pride as in Nantucket, the rash of conflicts has confirmed the urgent need to define the roles and responsibilities of the public and the public servant in U.S. education. In Chicago, peace of a sort was reinforced when Willis and his board formally spelled out their separate jurisdictions on paper. The need to define roles and responsibilities came up time and again at last week's convention of the National School Boards Association in Houston. Unless each side knows its place, "chaos results," said Mrs. Fred A. Radke, a Port Angeles, Wash., housewife and outgoing N.S.B.A. president. So far, however, neither school boards nor administrators seem certain of their limits. "The frequency and intensity of the local battles," said Mrs. Radke, "warn us clearly to get at the root of the trouble before we have a full-scale war."

PORTRAIT OF THE ADMINISTRATOR AS AN OLD ZUNI

William G. Monahan

HUNDREDS, even thousands of today's school districts are administered by school boards rather than by superintendents who are there in name only. A board of education has a prescribed role in American public education and the school superintendent should have a prescribed reciprocal role. But too often the balance of power is shifted toward the board.

Many excuses, and valid ones at that, are proffered for this turn of affairs:

SOURCE: From *Educational Executives Overview*, July 1963. Copyright © 1963 by the Bittenheim Publishing Corporation. Reprinted by permission of *Educational Executives Overview*.

Board members are typically business-oriented, they manage schools like they manage their businesses. . . . Board members are elected officials and represent their school patrons like congressmen responsible to constituents. . . . Board members try to execute decisions rather than to make policy. Another reason concerns the superintendent himself: *There are too many Zunis among our superintendents.*

The Zuni are a tribe of mild-mannered pueblo-dwelling Indians, real nice guys. As Ruth Benedict points out in *Patterns of Culture*, "Personal authority is perhaps the most vigorously disparaged trait in Zuni. A man who thirsts for power or knowledge, who wishes to be—as they scornfully put it—'a leader of his people,' receives nothing but censure. . . . The ideal man in Zuni is a person of affability who has never tried to lead, and who has never called forth comment from his neighbors."

Why are a growing number of Zuni administrators becoming native to our American school districts? We can trace this development in true Sir James Frazer style. First of all, incidental reasons abound: We need more administrators, so many enter the profession who are not always well qualified (educationally or psychologically). Also, there is the simple fact that in schools, the best paying positions are administrative. But there may be other reasons behind this growth of Zuni administrators such as psychological preparation (or the lack of it).

THE IMPACT OF PROFESSIONALISM

For thirty years or more, concerted efforts have been made by those who set up training programs for school administrators to elevate school administration to the status of a profession. These efforts have been relatively successful. The level of educational preparation is high for school administrators as a group and the nature of curricular offerings has taken on a rather sophisticated flavor. Also, close coordination between active superintendents, the AASA, learning institutes, and professors of school administration has brought maximum agreement on content and method among the groups.

Granted, superintendents have good educational equipment and verbal dexterity in their own language of professional administration; yet many still find their occupations almost uncontrollably hazardous. As a result, they criticize their training programs or blame the board of education structure in public education, or admit inability to cope with pressure groups. Then there are the strictly educational issues that stubbornly persist: too many inadequate school districts; lack of concern about educational investments; archaic customs and procedures in teaching learning; and growing unrest among teachers too long overworked and underpaid. Professional school administration does not face these issues courageously.

Inevitably, the management practices of our business economy have invaded the practices and principles of school administration; and certain techniques of professional business management do apply equally well to our public enterprises. However, we must question the advisability of applying

a common philosophy to the management of both private business and public agencies. Substance, rather than form, must govern any operation. In business, the purpose is to make profit and, unless this purpose is achieved, the organization's survival is at stake. The purposes of schools are not so clear-cut; survival frequently rests on locomotion toward goals rather than on specific achievement of them.

The school superintendent, unlike the professional manager, is never far removed from the "stockholders." He is not likely to forget their omnipresence nor can he afford to underestimate their influence. Moreover, school goals are usually decided by state legislatures which require public schools to function with economic efficiency. Thus, the span of effect between allocation and application of resources is considerably narrower for schools than for private business. Thus, the use of unqualified, or even poorly qualified, school administrators falls back upon both the training institutions and the image of the profession generally.

A TENDENCY TO BIFURCATE

As we continue our analysis of the professionalization movement in school administration, we find that our first concept of the demand for experts somehow breaks down. There is almost a tendency toward a bifurcated professional development. In one direction is the trend toward the bureaucratic educational organization that is undoubtedly superior technically to any other form for the administration of large enterprises. In the other direction are the requirements of the small school district where techniques and values are different.

Where large school systems are concerned, the bigger size creates a great need for administrative unity. This need is characterized by the development of specific administrative tasks, not merely through extensions but through development of an organizational structure which permits a scope capable of redeployment and absorption (a unifying structure). Very large school districts have been moving in this direction for forty years. And all this while, the influences of professional business management and training programs have contributed to and been reflected in this development.

The small school district finds itself a target of criticism because training programs are no longer geared toward the techniques and values that still dominate its environment. Its administrator-in-training has to pick and choose among those techniques, content, and skills which he can make applicable to his particular situation. Add to this the difficulty the small district has in attracting high quality people for administrative positions. Thus, we have the tendency toward bifurcation.

THE ZUNI ADMINISTRATOR

If we could research the number of Zuni administrators in American school districts, we would probably find that most of them are in small school

districts. There are at least two reasons for this. First of all, the emphasis on human relations in administration, with its appendages of "direction of people" and aura of affability, provides a most comfortable camouflage for administrative incompetence. Secondly, these same concepts do not have the same meaning in the small administrative organization, nor do they have the same applicable effectiveness, because the span of effect between allocation and application of resources is even narrower for small districts.

The incompetent administrator is a kind of over-libido individual who falls in with prevailing tides of thinking regardless of implications or origin. He has little concern for the overarching purposes of the enterprise; indeed, he is probably incoherent about them. His major line of rationalization is likely to be rounded in that good old standby—★Human★Relations★. He maintains his status by virtue of affability and niceness and is firmly convinced that his primary role is to remain as invisible as possible.

On the other hand, the administrator in a small system who is anxious to learn more within available training programs frequently feels "helpfulness." He is not so much interested in human relations as he is in conceptual tools to make him more effective in an environment where he is not organizationally insulated from a vocal and visible clientele. In short, he wants to learn about *personal* administration rather than *personnel* administration. If he likes working in the small school district, if he cannot find coherent ways to do his job better, and if his own personal security becomes uppermost, then he too may discover that administration-for-least-disturbance—Zunial administration—is the best compromise for him. He lets the board make decisions he should make.

A MODEST PROPOSAL

In recent years the trend has been for training programs to give increasing attention to the process and theory of administration. Unfortunately, except at the advanced graduate level, those who are most in need of such a background are not able to grasp or absorb it. Nowhere in the curriculum of school administration do we offer courses in the psychology of administration. Courses and seminars in theory approach this but they are usually too far advanced in the curriculum for the beginning graduate student to get at them.

We have talked and taught about human relations for more than two decades and yet the real problems we face are still social and psychological. We must rearrange the emphasis—not on human relations, but on interpersonal psychology within the administrative setting. The small school superintendent could profit a great deal from this kind of knowledge. It is he who constantly faces trials that involve interaction with all kinds of people. If he knew more about the social psychology of school administration, his tasks would be clarified in direction and the risk of filling administrative positions in small systems with Zunis would be considerably smaller.

TYPES OF DECISIONS

Decisions of substance are primarily concerned with the aims, purposes, content, emphases, and tendencies of the educational program. What school buildings should be constructed, and how should they be equipped? Should the community provide a kindergarten? What should be the qualifications of teachers, administrators, and other staff members? What should be the content and organization of the curriculum? These and many thousands of similar decisions of substance must be made in the continuing work of the public schools.

On the other hand, decisions of procedure are concerned with the modes of operation which will bring about prior basic decisions of substance. Although it may be an oversimplification to say that decisions of substance are concerned with *ends*, whereas decisions of procedure are concerned essentially with *means*, the statement would not be too far wrong. For what questions should the superintendent delegate authority to others? is a question of operation, as indeed are such questions as whether to employ democratic methods or assume an authoritarian attitude in regard to the decision-making process. Even the decision on how a decision shall be made is a decision of procedure. Because all decision-making involves values to some extent, a value judgment is inherent in each decision made. The extent to which these decisions, both of substance and of procedure, can be reached without chaos is amazing in an educational enterprise as complex as ours today.

THE EXECUTIVE AS DECISION MAKER

Herbert A. Simon

WHAT PART does decision making play in managing? I shall find it convenient to take mild liberties with the English language by using "decision making" as though it were synonymous with "managing."

What is our mental image of a decision maker? Is he a brooding man on horseback who suddenly rouses himself from thought and issues an order to a subordinate? Is he a happy-go-lucky fellow, a coin poised on his thumbnail, ready to risk his action on the toss? Is he an alert, gray-haired busi-

SOURCE: "The Executive as Decision Maker" from *The New Science of Management Decision* by Herbert A. Simon. Copyright © 1960 by School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, New York University. Reprinted with the permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Incorporated.

nessman, sitting at the board of directors' table with his associates, caught at the moment of saying "aye" or "nay"? Is he a bespectacled gentleman, bent over a docket of papers, his pen hovering over the line marked (X)?

All of these images have a significant point in common. In them, the decision maker is a man at the moment of choice, ready to plant his foot on one or another of the routes that lead from the crossroads. All the images falsify decision by focusing on its final moment. All of them ignore the whole lengthy, complex process of alerting, exploring, and analysing that precede that final moment.

INTELLIGENCE, DESIGN, AND CHOICE IN DECISION MAKING

In treating decision making as synonymous with managing, I shall be referring not merely to the final act of choice among alternatives, but rather to the whole process of decision. Decision making comprises three principal phases: finding occasions for making a decision; finding possible courses of action; and choosing among courses of action. These three activities account for quite different fractions of the time budgets of executives. The fractions vary greatly from one organization level to another and from one executive to another, but we can make some generalizations about them even from casual observation. Executives spend a large fraction of their time surveying the economic, technical, political, and social environment to identify new conditions that call for new actions. They probably spend an even larger fraction of their time, individually or with their associates, seeking to invent, design, and develop possible courses of action for handling situations where a decision is needed. They spend a small fraction of their time in choosing among alternative actions already developed to meet an identified problem and already analysed for their consequences. The three fractions, added together, account for most of what executives do.¹

The first phase of the decision-making process—searching the environment for conditions calling for decision—I shall call *intelligence* activity (borrowing the military meaning of intelligence). The second phase—inventing, developing, and analysing possible courses of action—I shall call *design* activity. The third phase—selecting a particular course of action from those available—I shall call *choice* activity.

Let me illustrate these three phases of decision. In the past five years, many companies have reorganized their accounting and other data processing activities in order to make use of large electronic computers. How has this come about? Computers first became available commercially in the early 1950s. Although, in some vague and general sense, company managements were aware that computers existed, few managements had investigated their possible applications with any thoroughness before about 1955.

¹ The way in which these activities take shape within an organization is described in some detail in James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, *Organizations* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), chaps. 6 and 7.

For most companies, the use of computers required no decision before that time because it hadn't been placed on the agenda.²

The intelligence activity preceding the introduction of computers tended to come about in one of two ways. Some companies—for example, in the aircraft and atomic energy industries—were burdened with enormously complex computations for engineering design. Because efficiency in computation was a constant problem, and because the design departments were staffed with engineers who could understand, at least in general, the technology of computers, awareness of computers and their potentialities came early to these companies. After computers were already in extensive use for design calculations, businesses with a large number-processing load—insurance companies, accounting departments in large firms, banks—discovered these new devices and began to consider seriously their introduction.

Once it was recognized that computers might have a place in modern business, a major design task had to be carried out in each company before they could be introduced. It is now a commonplace that payrolls can be prepared by computers. Programs in both the general and computer senses for doing this are relative easy to design in any given situation.³ To develop the first computer programs for preparing payroll, however, was a major research and development project. Few companies having carried their investigations of computers to the point where they had definite plans for their use, failed to install them. Commitment to the new course of action took place gradually as the intelligence and design phases of the decision were going on. The final choice was, in many instances, almost *pro forma*.

Generally speaking, intelligence activity precedes design, and design activity precedes choice. The cycle of phases is, however, far more complex than this sequence suggests. Each phase in making a particular decision is itself a complex decision-making process. The design phase, for example, may call for new intelligence activities; problems at any given level generate subproblems that, in turn, have their intelligence, design, and choice phases, and so on. There are wheels within wheels within wheels. Nevertheless, the three large phases are often clearly discernible as the organizational decision process unfolds. They are closely related to the stages in problem solving first described by John Dewey:

What is the problem?

What are the alternatives?

Which alternative is best? ⁴

It may be objected that I have ignored the task of carrying out decisions. I shall merely observe by the way that seeing that decisions are executed is again decision-making activity. A broad policy decision creates a new

² Richard M. Cyert, Herbert A. Simon, and Donald B. Trow, "Observation of a Business Decision," *Journal of Business*, vol. 29 (1956), pp. 237-248.

³ For a good discussion on the use of the computer for such purposes, see Robert H. Gregory and Richard L. Van Horn, *Automatic Data-Processing Systems* (San Francisco: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1960).

⁴ John Dewey, *How We Think* (New York: D. C. Heath & Company, 1910), chap. 8.

condition for the organization's executives that calls for the design and choice of a course of action for executing the policy. Executing policy, then, is indistinguishable from making more detailed policy. For this reason, I shall feel justified in taking my pattern for decision making as a paradigm for most executive activity.

DEVELOPING DECISION-MAKING SKILLS

It is an obvious step from the premise that managing is decision making to the conclusion that the important skills for an executive are decision-making skills. It is generally believed that good decision makers, like good athletes, are born, not made. The belief is about as true in the one case as it is in the other.

That human beings come into the world endowed unequally with biological potential for athletic prowess is undeniable. They also come endowed unequally with intelligence, cheerfulness, and many other characteristics and potentialities. To a limited extent, we can measure some aspects of that endowment—height, weight, perhaps intelligence. Whenever we make such measurements and compare them with adult performance, we obtain significant, but low, correlations. A man who is not a natural athlete is unlikely to run the four-minute mile; but many men who are natural athletes have never come close to that goal. A man who is not “naturally” intelligent is unlikely to star in science; but many intelligent scientists are not stars.

A good athlete is born when a man with some natural endowment, by dint of practice, learning, and experience develops that natural endowment into a mature skill. A good executive is born when a man with some natural endowment (intelligence and some capacity for interacting with his fellow men) by dint of practice, learning, and experience develops his endowment into a mature skill. The skills involved in intelligence, design, and choosing activities are as learnable and trainable as the skills involved in driving, recovering, and putting a golf ball. I hope to indicate some of the things a modern executive needs to learn about decision making.

EXECUTIVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ORGANIZATIONAL DECISION MAKING

The executive's job involves not only making decisions himself, but also seeing that the organization, or part of an organization, that he directs makes decisions effectively. The vast bulk of the decision-making activity for which he is responsible is not his personal activity, but the activity of his subordinates.

Nowadays, with the advent of computers, we can think of information as something almost tangible; strings of symbols which, like strips of steel or plastic ribbons, can be processed—changed from one form to another. We can think of white-collar organizations as factories for processing information. The executive is the factory manager, with all the usual responsibilities

for maintaining the factory operation, getting it back into operation when it breaks down, and proposing and carrying through improvements in its design.

There is no reason to expect that a man who has acquired a fairly high level of personal skill in decision-making activity will have a correspondingly high skill in designing efficient decision-making systems. To imagine that there is such a connection is like supposing that a man who is a good weight lifter can therefore design cranes. The skills of designing and maintaining the modern decision-making systems we call organizations are less intuitive skills. Hence, they are even more susceptible to training than the skills of personal decision making.

PROGRAMMED AND NONPROGRAMMED DECISIONS

In discussing how executives now make decisions, and how they will make them in the future, let us distinguish two polar types of decisions. I shall call them *programmed decisions* and *nonprogrammed decisions*, respectively. Having christened them, I hasten to add that they are not really distinct types, but a whole continuum, with highly programmed decisions at one end of that continuum and highly unprogrammed decisions at the other end. We can find decisions of all shades of gray along the continuum, and I use the terms programmed and nonprogrammed simply as labels for the black and the white of the range.⁵

Decisions are programmed to the extent that they are repetitive and routine, to the extent that a definite procedure has been worked out for handling them so that they don't have to be treated *de novo* each time they occur. The obvious reason why programmed decisions tend to be repetitive, and vice versa, is that if a particular problem recurs often enough, a routine procedure will usually be worked out for solving it. Numerous examples of programmed decisions in organizations will occur to you: pricing ordinary customers' orders; determining salary payments to employees who have been ill; reordering office supplies.

Decisions are nonprogrammed to the extent that they are novel, unstructured, and consequential. There is no cut-and-dried method for handling the problem because it hasn't arisen before, or because its precise nature and structure are elusive or complex, or because it is so important that it deserves a custom-tailored treatment. General Eisenhower's D-Day decision is a good example of a nonprogrammed decision. Remember, we are considering not merely the final act of ordering the attack, but the whole complex of intelligence and design activities that preceded it. Many of the components of the decisions were programmed—by standard techniques for military planning—but before these components could be designed they had to be provided with a broader framework of military and political policy.

⁵ See March and Simon, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–142 and 177–180 for further discussion of these types of decisions. The labels used there are slightly different.

I have borrowed the term program from the computer trade, and intend it in the sense in which it is used there. A *program* is a detailed prescription or strategy that governs the sequence of responses of a system to a complex task environment. Most of the programs that govern organizational response are not as detailed or as precise as computer programs. However, they all have the same intent: to permit an adaptive response of the system to the situation.

In what sense, then, can we say that the response of a system to a situation is nonprogrammed? Surely something determines the response. That something, that collection of rules of procedure, is by definition a program. By nonprogrammed I mean a response where the system has no specific procedures to deal with situations like the one at hand, but must fall back on whatever *general* capacity it has for intelligent, adaptive, problem-oriented action. In addition to his specific skills and specific knowledge, man has some general problem-solving capacities. Given almost any kind of situation, no matter how novel or perplexing, he can begin to reason about it in terms of ends and means.

This general problem-solving equipment is not always effective. Men often fail to solve problems, or they reach unsatisfactory solutions. But man is seldom completely helpless in a new situation. He possesses general problem-solving equipment which, however inefficient, fills some of the gaps in his special problem-solving skills. And organizations, as collections of men, have some of this same general adaptive capacity.

CITIZENS SHARE IN DECISION MAKING

Not infrequently, the board of education, faced with a major decision affecting the schools, may elect to call upon the citizens for assistance. As long as the group is representative of the entire community, is limited in its function to advising only, and is confined to a definable task, citizens' advisory committees have been quite helpful to boards of education. The following study represents some findings and recommendations of the citizens' advisory committees in the state of New York. Some of the findings are applicable to other regions of the country.

THE STATUS, STRUCTURE, AND FUNCTIONS OF CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMITTEES

John F. O'Neal

CITIZENS advisory committees for the public schools, though not new, have experienced a phenomenal growth during the past decade.

In the first nationwide survey, which was conducted in 1949, Hull¹ found only 62 citizens committees (one of which dated as far back as 1919). This study revealed, however, a very dramatic increase in the number of committees immediately following World War II as indicated by the fact that 70 percent of the committees found by Hull were organized during the years 1946-1948. By 1956, only seven years later, the National Citizens Council for Better Schools estimated that there were approximately 10,000 citizens committees in active operation.

Although substantial progress has been made in clarifying the functions of citizens committees, many administrators, board members, and citizens are still puzzled about the proper role of a citizens advisory committee. Questions frequently asked are:

1. Should the committee be sponsored by the board or be completely independent?
2. Should it be a short-range, specific purpose committee or a continuing committee?
3. Is it more appropriate for a committee to work on relatively objective matters, such as building programs or to study curriculum problems that involve more intangibles?
4. Does a committee actually improve school-community relations?
5. Is a committee worth all the time it takes?

PROCEDURE

This study was confined to those 678 school districts in New York State which maintained twelve grades in their public school program and was concerned only with school-district-wide lay citizens advisory committees that were established on a purely extra-legal basis. This investigation did not include any agriculture, vocational, or adult education advisory committees since these are required by law in New York State.

¹ J. H. Hull. *Lay Advisory Committees to Boards of Education in the United States*. Summary of Doctoral Dissertation, University of Southern California, Pasadena, California: California Association of Social Administrators, 1949.

The study was divided into two major parts: (1) four intensive case studies of citizens committees in central New York State, and (2) a state-wide questionnaire survey.

Data gathering by use of the techniques of observation and interview were combined to form the basis for the case studies of citizens committees at work in the four New York communities. Two of these communities were small villages, a third was a city of approximately 40,000 and the fourth community was a suburban district adjoining a city of over 100,000 population. The two small village communities had one board-sponsored citizens committee each while the city district and the suburban district had two committees each, one board-sponsored and one independent.

The statewide questionnaire survey consisted of two phases:

1. A preliminary questionnaire was sent to each of the 678 school districts in New York State that operated grades kindergarten through twelve. Replies were received from 546 districts which means there was an 80.5 percent response; a total of 222 districts had active citizens committees between July 1, 1957 and June 30, 1958.

2. The second questionnaire was mailed approximately one year after the first to all of the 222 districts which had an active committee during the 1957-1958 school year; one-half of the second mailing went to chief administrators and one-half to citizens committee chairmen. There was a fifty-nine percent response to the second questionnaire. Since 65 replies came from administrators and 66 from committee chairmen, many comparisons were made.

FINDINGS

The statements listed below are the major findings of the study:

1. Citizens advisory committees are found extensively in New York State and their activities are significant for school administration. The fact that there were 222 active citizens groups during one given year, July 1, 1957 to June 30, 1958, means that one out of every three schools in the state had a committee during that year. There were 137 other districts that had a committee previously, but not during 1957-1958, making combined total of 359 which had a citizens advisory group either during 1957-1958 or previously. Therefore, 66 percent of the districts in the state responding to the survey have had experience with advisory committees.

2. Committees are found more frequently in districts with a population of over 10,000. Of the 158 districts with a population of 10,000 or more which participated in the survey, 87 percent had a citizens committee either during the year or previously. By contrast, only 47 percent of those communities with populations under 5,000 had had a committee.

3. The specific-purpose, board-sponsored citizens committee is the predominant type in the State of New York. There were 222 active committees in 1957-1958, of which 168 were specific-purpose, board-sponsored compared to 36 continuing board-sponsored and only 18 independent committees. The

median length of operation for the specific committees was approximately eight months while the median for continuing committees was nearly two years.

4. The great majority of citizens committee activity is centered around building programs and bond issues. In 1958, a building program was most frequently listed as the chief objective by all three types of citizens committees: 1) specific, 2) continuing, and 3) independent. In the case of specific committees, a building program was indicated as the most important purpose in more cases than were all other chief objectives combined.

5. Citizens committees as a group are generally successful in achieving their objectives.

- a. A great majority of citizens committees, approximately 72 percent, were rated as either excellent or above average on a five-point scale by both administrators and citizens committee chairmen. Table 1 shows the administrator's rating of the committee in his district in 1958 in response to the first questionnaire compared with the same administrator's rating of the same committee again in 1959 after a lapse of a year. Table 2 shows a comparison of the ratings given by the administrator in 1958 with the rating given the same committee one year later by the chairman of the committee. It should be remembered that when the second questionnaire was sent, one-half went to chairmen and one-half went to administrators. Since the administrators and chairmen were located in different school districts, it was unlikely that any collusion would occur.

TABLE 1

Correlation of Administrator Rating of Committee Success on
First Questionnaire with Administrator Rating of
Committee Success on Second Questionnaire *

FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE RATING	SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE RATING					TOTALS
	UN- SUCCESSFUL	POOR	AVERAGE	ABOVE AVERAGE	EXCELLENT	
Excellent	0	0	2	5	15	22
Above Average	1	0	4	8	7	20
Average	0	0	5	3	0	8
Poor	0	1	0	1	0	2
Unsuccessful	4	1	2	0	0	7
No Answer, 6						
Totals	5	2	13	17	22	59

Coefficient of Correlation .74

* The way to interpret Table 1 can be illustrated by the number "2" which is found under the word "average" at the top of the third column of figures. This indicates that two administrators rated the committees in their districts as "average" on the second questionnaire, when they rated the same committees as "excellent" one year earlier on the first questionnaire.

TABLE 2
Correlation of Administrator Rating of Success with
Chairman Rating of Success

ADMINISTRATOR RATING	CHAIRMAN RATING					TOTALS
	UN- SUCCESSFUL	POOR	AVERAGE	ABOVE AVERAGE	EXCELLENT	
Excellent	0	0	3	5	10	18
Above Average	1	1	7	7	8	24
Average	0	0	0	4	8	12
Poor	1	0	1	0	1	3
Unsuccessful	0	0	1	0	0	1
No Answer, 8						
Totals	2	1	12	16	27	58

Coefficient of Correlation .23 *

* An inspection of Table 2 shows that there is more general agreement between the two ratings than is indicated by the correlation figure. Statistically speaking, there were not enough ratings that fell in the lower end of the scale to bring out the "straight line" relationships. It is interesting to note that 72 percent of the administrators rated the committees in their districts as excellent or above average and 73 percent of the chairmen rated their committees as either excellent or above average.

- b. Chairmen and administrators alike reported that school-community relations had either been improved or greatly improved as a result of committee activity in 80 percent of the cases. Eighty-five percent of chairmen and administrators indicated they would recommend that their boards of education continue to sponsor citizens groups.
- c. Eight citizens groups recommended centralization (consolidation of school districts) during 1957-1958 of which seven passed and only one failed.
- d. Other tangible evidence of success includes: 1) seventeen committees recommended curriculum changes which were made, 2) fifteen recommended new policies which were adopted, and 3) five recommended new salary scales which were accepted.
6. Advisory committees experienced some difficulties in their operation. The problems most frequently mentioned as the chief difficulty experienced by the committee in the order of their importance were: 1) most of the work of the committee was left to be done by a few, 2) membership was not truly representative of the entire school district, 3) membership became divided into factions, and 4) the committee was not given or it did not take enough time to do the job well.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Some have looked upon citizens committees as the long-sought panacea for a multitude of school problems associated with public relations, need for increased financial support, policy making, and curriculum construction; some

have viewed these groups with a suspicious and critical eye and have taken the position that they will inevitably usurp the authority and the responsibilities of the school board or become another "pressure group" seeking support for their narrowly conceived projects; still others see in the citizens committee idea an opportunity to practice "psuedo-democracy" in which the leader is able to use subtle and devious means of obtaining from the group the "right" recommendations.

Hamlin (p. 1) ² stated in 1952 that he had some fear that "the widespread and haphazard development of citizens groups may lead to mistakes and excesses that will discredit these groups and kill a healthy movement for the use of school-initiated committees that has been developing for a generation." It seems clear that the citizens committee movement can be a healthy movement if it can avoid the excesses and mistakes of which Hamlin spoke.

Citizens committees should:

1. Be more concerned about the spirit rather than the form of democracy in committee operation.

The results of extensive observations of committees at work and many interviews with participants seem to indicate very definitely that citizens committee members are far more concerned about an opportunity for free discussion of issues than they are about following a particular democratic form. If the participants feel certain that their ideas will be treated with dignity and respect, they are not likely to be disturbed if the chairman of the committee is appointed rather than elected.

2. Be appointed only after it is certain that advice is wanted.

If decisions have already been made or if there is a likelihood that the recommendations made by such a group would be undesirable or unacceptable, a citizens committee should not be appointed. Committee members resent being "manipulated" or having their recommendations ignored.

3. Operate within the framework of policies concerning advisory committees established by the boards of education.

It seems quite unfortunate that only ten percent of the boards of education in the districts participating in the statewide survey had established any written policies relating to citizens groups.

4. Be given a suggested time limit, of reasonable length, during which they are to finish their work.

The statewide survey showed that 59 percent of the citizens committees were not given a suggested time limit and of this group, 58 percent received a success rating of excellent or above average. However, in those cases where a target date was set, the portion receiving a success rating of excellent or above average was 81 percent, which was an increase of 23 percentage points over those committees without a suggested time limit.

5. Be composed of members who serve as individuals rather than as representatives of community organizations.

² Hubert M. Hamlin. *Citizens Committees in Public Schools*. Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printing Company, 1952.

The boards appointed the members of the committees which they sponsored in 80 percent of the cases; when members were appointed by the board, they served as individuals. At the present time, the literature is practically unanimous in recommending that members of advisory committees participate as individuals.

6. Be a good cross-section of the community and should include some "opposition" in its membership.

In two communities, A and D, where intensive case studies were made, the committees failed to accomplish their objectives, and the leaders in both communities were convinced that the failure to include some opposition on the committees contributed importantly to their failure.

7. Have sub-committee reports made exclusively to the executive committee or to the citizens committee as a whole, but not to the general public. The citizens committee should not make public any reports or recommendations until after the board has had ample opportunity to study them.

Bretsch (p. 76),³ McCloskey (p. 383),⁴ and Ross (p. 504)⁵ support this recommendation. Community C had an independent committee that violated this rule and Community D had a broad-sponsored group that also ignored this principle; this procedure brought serious difficulties in both cases.

8. Attempt to achieve wide agreement among committee members before making final recommendations. Minority reports are to be avoided if at all possible.

The questionnaire survey results indicated that 70 percent of the committees were able to obtain between 85 and 100 percent agreement with the final recommendations and that there was a definite relationship between committee success and the number of committee members agreeing with the final report.

Of all the committees responding to the questionnaire survey, 93 percent had wisely refrained from presenting a minority report.

9. Be board-sponsored rather than independent.

Of the 222 citizens committees in New York State which were active during 1957-1958, only eight percent were operated independently of the board of education. In the two-year period of 1957 and 1958, forty-three specific-purpose, board-sponsored committees were formed in districts which had never had a committee before, but during the same period only two independent committees were formed. Thus practice leans very heavily in the direction of board-sponsored committees.

In no way is it being suggested that boards of education should set up committees which will be their "rubber stamps." If the committee is not to be given real problems and real responsibilities, it should not be organized

³ Howard S. Bretsch. "Boards and Citizens at Cross Purposes?" *The School Executive*, 79: 75-77, October, 1959.

⁴ Gordon McCloskey. *Education and Public Understanding*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959.

⁵ Donald H. Ross (ed.). *Administration for Adaptability*. Revised edition. New York: Metropolitan School Study Council, 1958.

in the first place. Further, it is recognized that in some emergencies such as when the board of education is unable or unwilling to perform its duty, an independent citizens committee is in order; however, when the problem has been solved, the committee should disband and let the board of education, the legally responsible, and in most cases the democratically elected group, manage the regular school affairs of the district.

A PROLIFERATION OF ADMINISTRATORS

Does a danger lie in the direction of expanding numbers of administrative personnel? Writing with tongue in cheek, the eminent English author, C. Northcote Parkinson, says that indeed there is a danger. As organizations mature, such a proliferation of administrative and clerical personnel is inevitable. Would Parkinson's cautions in the following selection be necessary in the public schools of the United States?

PARKINSON'S LAW OR THE RISING PYRAMID

C. Northcote Parkinson

WORK EXPANDS so as to fill the time available for its completion. General recognition of this fact is shown in the proverbial phrase "It is the busiest man who has time to spare." Thus, an elderly lady of leisure can spend the entire day in writing and dispatching a postcard to her niece at Bognor Regis. An hour will be spent in finding the postcard, another in hunting for spectacles, half an hour in a search for the address, an hour and a quarter in composition, and twenty minutes in deciding whether or not to take an umbrella when going to the mailbox in the next street. The total effort that would occupy a busy man for three minutes all told may in this fashion leave another person prostrate after a day of doubt, anxiety, and toil.

Granted that work (and especially paperwork) is thus elastic in its demands on time, it is manifest that there need be little or no relationship between the work to be done and the size of the staff to which it may be assigned. A lack of real activity does not, of necessity, result in leisure. A lack of occupation is not necessarily revealed by a manifest idleness. The thing to be done swells in importance and complexity in a direct ratio with the time to be spent. This fact is widely recognized, but less attention has been paid to its wider implications, more especially in the field of public administration. Politicians and taxpayers have assumed (with occasional

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phases of doubt) that a rising total in the number of civil servants must reflect a growing volume of work to be done. Cynics, in questioning this belief, have imagined that the multiplication of officials must have left some of them idle or all of them able to work for shorter hours. But this is a matter in which faith and doubt seem equally misplaced. The fact is that the number of the officials and the quantity of the work are not related to each other at all. The rise in the total of those employed is governed by Parkinson's Law and would be much the same whether the volume of the work were to increase, diminish, or even disappear. The importance of Parkinson's Law lies in the fact that it is a law of growth based upon an analysis of the factors by which that growth is controlled.

The validity of this recently discovered law must rest mainly on statistical proofs, which will follow. Of more interest to the general reader is the explanation of the factors underlying the general tendency to which this law gives definition. Omitting technicalities (which are numerous) we may distinguish at the outset two motive forces. They can be represented for the present purpose by two almost axiomatic statements, thus: (1) "An official wants to multiply subordinates, not rivals" and (2) "Officials make work for each other."

To comprehend Factor 1, we must picture a civil servant, called A, who finds himself overworked. Whether this overwork is real or imaginary is immaterial, but we should observe, in passing, that A's sensation (or illusion) might easily result from his own decreasing energy: a normal symptom of middle age. For this real or imagined overwork there are, broadly speaking, three possible remedies. He may resign; he may ask to halve the work with a colleague called B; he may demand the assistance of two subordinates, to be called C and D. There is probably no instance in history, however, of A choosing any but the third alternative. By resignation he would lose his pension rights. By having B appointed, on his own level in the hierarchy, he would merely bring in a rival for promotion to W's vacancy when W (at long last) retires. So A would rather have C and D, junior men, below him. They will add to his consequence and, by dividing the work into two categories, as between C and D, he will have the merit of being the only man who comprehends them both. It is essential to realize at this point that C and D are, as it were, inseparable. To appoint C alone would have been impossible. Why? Because C, if by himself, would divide the work with A and B; a status the more emphasized if C is A's only possible successor. Subordinates must thus number two or more, each being thus kept in order by fear of the other's promotion. When C complains in turn of being overworked (as he certainly will) A will, with the concurrence of C, advise the appointment of two assistants to help C. But he can then avert internal friction only by advising the appointment of two more assistants to help D, whose position is much the same. With this recruitment of E, F, G, and H the promotion of A is now practically certain.

Seven officials are now doing what one did before. This is where Factor

2 comes into operation. For these seven make so much work for each other that all are fully occupied and A is actually working harder than ever. An incoming document may well come before each of them in turn. Official E decides that it falls within the province of F, who places a draft reply before C, who amends it drastically before consulting D, who asks G to deal with it. But G goes on leave at this point, handing the file over to H, who drafts a minute that is signed by D and returned to C, who revises his draft accordingly and lays the new version before A.

What does A do? He would have every excuse for signing the thing unread, for he has many other matters on his mind. Knowing now that he is to succeed W next year, he has to decide whether C or D should succeed to his own office. He had to agree to G's going on leave even if not yet strictly entitled to it. He is worried whether H should not have gone instead, for reasons of health. He has looked pale recently—partly but not solely because of his domestic troubles. Then there is the business of F's special increment of salary for the period of the conference and E's application for transfer to the Ministry of Pensions. A has heard that D is in love with a married typist and that G and F are no longer on speaking terms—no one seems to know why. So A might be tempted to sign C's draft and have done with it. But A is a conscientious man. Beset as he is with problems created by his colleagues for themselves and for him—created by the mere fact of these officials' existence—he is not the man to shirk his duty. He reads through the draft with care, deletes the fussy paragraphs added by C and H, and restores the thing back to the form preferred in the first instance by the able (if quarrelsome) F. He corrects the English—none of these young men can write grammatically—and finally produces the same reply he would have written if officials C to H had never been born. Far more people have taken far longer to produce the same result. No one has been idle. All have done their best. And it is late in the evening before A finally quits his office and begins the return journey to Ealing. The last of the office lights are being turned off in the gathering dusk that marks the end of another day's administrative toil. Among the last to leave, A reflects with bowed shoulders and a wry smile that late hours, like gray hairs, are among the penalties of success.

From this description of the factors at work the student of political science will recognize that administrators are more or less bound to multiply. Nothing has yet been said, however, about the period of time likely to elapse between the date of A's appointment and the date from which we can calculate the pensionable service of H. Vast masses of statistical evidence have been collected and it is from a study of this data that Parkinson's Law has been deduced. Space will not allow of detailed analysis but the reader will be interested to know that research began in the British Navy Estimates. These were chosen because the Admiralty's responsibilities are more easily measurable than those of, say, the Board of Trade. The question is merely one of numbers and tonnage. Here are some typical figures. The strength of the Navy in 1914 could be shown as 146,000 officers and men, 3249 dockyard officials and clerks, and 57,000 dockyard workmen. By 1928 there were

only 100,000 officers and men and only 62,439 workmen, but the dockyard officials and clerks by then numbered 4558. As for warships, the strength in 1928 was a mere fraction of what it had been in 1914—fewer than 20 capital ships in commission as compared with 62. Over the same period the Admiralty officials had increased in number from 2000 to 3569, providing (as was remarked) “a magnificent navy on land.” These figures are more clearly set forth in tabular form.

Admiralty Statistics

YEAR	CAPITAL SHIPS IN COMMISSION	OFFICERS AND MEN IN R.N.	DOCKYARD WORKERS	DOCKYARD OFFICIALS AND CLERKS	ADMIRALTY OFFICIALS
1914	62	146,000	57,000	3249	2000
1928	20	100,000	62,439	4558	3569
<i>Increase or Decrease</i>	—67.74%	—31.5%	+9.54%	+40.28%	+78.45%

The criticism voiced at the time centered on the ratio between the numbers of those available for fighting and those available only for administration. But that comparison is not to the present purpose. What we have to note is that the 2000 officials of 1914 had become the 3569 of 1928; and that this growth was unrelated to any possible increase in their work. The Navy during that period had diminished, in point of fact, by a third in men and two-thirds in ships. Nor, from 1922 onward, was its strength even expected to increase; for its total of ships (unlike its total of officials) was limited by the Washington Naval Agreement of that year. Here we have then a 78 per cent increase over a period of fourteen years; an average of 5.6 per cent increase a year on the earlier total. In fact, as we shall see, the rate of increase was not as regular as that. All we have to consider, at this stage, is the percentage rise over a given period.

Can this rise in the total number of civil servants be accounted for except on the assumption that such a total must always rise by a law governing its growth? It might be urged at this point that the period under discussion was one of rapid development in naval technique. The use of the flying machine was no longer confined to the eccentric. Electrical devices were being multiplied and elaborated. Submarines were tolerated if not approved. Engineer officers were beginning to be regarded as almost human. In so revolutionary an age we might expect that storekeepers would have more elaborate inventories to compile. We might not wonder to see more draughtsmen on the payroll, more designers, more technicians and scientists. But these, the dockyard officials, increased only by 40 per cent in number when the men of Whitehall increased their total by nearly 80 per cent. For every new foreman or electrical engineer at Portsmouth there had to be two more clerks at Charing Cross. From this we might be tempted to conclude, provisionally, that the rate of increase in administrative staff is likely to be double that of the

technical staff at a time when the actually useful strength (in this case, of seamen) is being reduced by 31.5 per cent. It has been proved statistically, however, that this last percentage is irrelevant. The officials would have multiplied at the same rate had there been no actual seamen at all.

It would be interesting to follow the further progress by which the 8118 Admiralty staff of 1935 came to number 33,788 by 1954. But the staff of the Colonial Office affords a better field of study during a period of imperial decline. Admiralty statistics are complicated by factors (like the Fleet Air Arm) that makes comparison difficult as between one year and the next. The Colonial Office growth is more significant in that it is more purely administrative. Here the relevant statistics are as follows:

1935	1939	1943	1947	1954
372	450	817	1139	1661

Before showing what the rate of increase is, we must observe that the extent of this department's responsibilities was far from constant during these twenty years. The colonial territories were not much altered in area or population between 1935 and 1939. They were considerably diminished by 1943, certain areas being in enemy hands. They were increased again in 1947, but have since then shrunk steadily from year to year as successive colonies achieve self-government. It would be rational to suppose that these changes in the scope of Empire would be reflected in the size of its central administration. But a glance at the figures is enough to convince us that the staff totals represent nothing but so many stages in an inevitable increase. And this increase, although related to that observed in other departments, has nothing to do with the size—or even the existence—of the Empire. What are the percentages of increase? We must ignore, for this purpose, the rapid increase in staff which accompanied the diminution of responsibility during World War II. We should note rather, the peacetime rates of increase: over 5.24 per cent between 1935 and 1939, and 6.55 per cent between 1947 and 1954. This gives an average increase of 5.89 per cent each year, a percentage markedly similar to that already found in the Admiralty staff increase between 1914 and 1928.

Further and detailed statistical analysis of departmental staffs would be inappropriate in such a work as this. It is hoped, however, to reach a tentative conclusion regarding the time likely to elapse between a given official's first appointment and the later appointment of his two or more assistants.

Dealing with the problem of pure staff accumulation, all our researches so far completed point to an average increase of 5.75 per cent per year. This fact established, it now becomes possible to state Parkinson's Law in mathematical form: In any public administrative department not actually at war, the staff increase may be expected to follow this formula—

$$x = \frac{2k^m + l}{n}$$

k is the number of staff seeking promotion through the appointment of subordinates; l represents the difference between the ages of appointment and retirement; m is the number of man-hours devoted to answering minutes within the department and n is the number of effective units being administered. x will be the number of new staff required each year. Mathematicians will realize, of course, that to find the percentage increase they must multiply x by 100 and divide by the total of the previous year, thus:

$$\frac{100 (2k^m + l)}{yn} \%$$

where y represents the total original staff. This figure will invariably prove to be between 5.17 per cent and 6.56 per cent, irrespective of any variation in the amount of work (if any) to be done.

The discovery of this formula and of the general principles upon which it is based has, of course, no political value. No attempt has been made to inquire whether departments *ought* to grow in size. Those who hold that this growth is essential to gain full employment are fully entitled to their opinion. Those who doubt the stability of an economy based upon reading each other's minutes are equally entitled to theirs. It would probably be premature to attempt at this stage any inquiry into the quantitative ratio that should exist between the administrators and the administered. Granted, however, that a maximum ratio exists, it should soon be possible to ascertain by formula how many years will elapse before that ratio, in any given community, will be reached. The forecasting of such a result will again have no political value. Nor can it be sufficiently emphasized that Parkinson's Law is a purely scientific discovery, inapplicable except in theory to the politics of the day. It is not the business of the botanist to eradicate the weeds. Enough for him if he can tell us just how fast they grow.

PROCESS BY ALPHABET

The concept of administration as a process was comparatively slowly accepted in America. The idea was born in industry, and found its way from "management" into administrative thinking. The French engineer, Henri Fayol, who became an administrator, in 1916 focused attention on what he called "the elements of management" in a book entitled *Administration Industrielle et Générale*.^{*} He envisioned these elements as planning, organizing, commanding, coordination, and control. Because it was not translated into English, this work did not receive general attention in America until after World War II. Whereas Fayol's "elements" were applied to industrial production, others applied them to the public realm. For example, in 1937, Luther Gulick and

^{*} Translated into English by Constance Starrs, *General and Industrial Management* (London: Pitman and Sons, 1949).

L. Urwick suggested that an administrator, in this case the President of the United States, might organize his work along lines of the coined-word POSDCORB. The following selection explains their conception of the seven elements which constitute the major duties of the chief executive.

POSDCORB

Luther Gulick and L. Urwick

THIS BRINGS us directly to the question, "What is the work of the chief executive? What does he do?"

The answer is POSDCORB.

POSDCORB is, of course, a made-up word designed to call attention to the various functional elements of the work of a chief executive because "administration" and "management" have lost all specific content. POSDCORB is made up of the initials and stands for the following activities:

Planning, that is working out in broad outline the things that need to be done and the methods for doing them to accomplish the purpose set for the enterprise;

Organizing, that is the establishment of the formal structure of authority through which work subdivisions are arranged, defined and co-ordinated for the defined objective;

Staffing, that is the whole personnel function of bringing in and training the staff and maintaining favorable conditions of work;

Directing, that is the continuous task of making decisions and embodying them in specific and general orders and instructions and serving as the leader of the enterprise;

Co-ordinating, that is the all important duty of interrelating the various parts of work;

Reporting, that is keeping those to whom the executive is responsible informed as to what is going on, which thus includes keeping himself and his subordinates informed through records, research and inspection;

Budgeting, with all that goes with budgeting in the form of fiscal planning, accounting and control.

This statement of the work of a chief executive is adapted from the functional analysis elaborated by Henri Fayol in his "Industrial and General Administration." It is believed that those who know administration intimately

SOURCE: From *Papers on the Science of Administration* by Luther Gulick and L. Urwick. Copyright © 1937 by the Institute of Public Administration, New York, New York. Reprinted by permission of the Institute of Public Administration.

will find in this analysis a valid and helpful pattern, into which can be fitted each of the major activities and duties of any chief executive.

If these seven elements may be accepted as the major duties of the chief executive, it follows that they *may* be separately organized as subdivisions of the executive. The need for such subdivision depends entirely on the size and complexity of the enterprise. In the largest enterprises, particularly where the chief executive is as a matter of fact unable to do the work that is thrown upon him, it may be presumed that one or more parts of POSDCORB should be suborganized.

In 1950, Sears * published the first of the administrative works which feature the process of administrative decision-making. Acknowledging his debt to Fayol and Gulick, Sears visualized the process of administration as consisting of planning, organization, direction, coordination, and control, a list closely paralleling that of Fayol. The concept was further enlarged by several writers in school administration, who subsequently clarified and simplified the "alphabetical" conceptions surrounding administration as a process.†

In 1961, Griffiths and Hemphill published a study which outlined the process in terms of what has become known as the scientific process of problem-solving. Table 1 contains some of the comparative views held by writers in the field on the subject of administration as a process.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Recall a process or procedure from science or the social sciences. Reduce the process to a formula which utilizes letters of the alphabet. What are the advantages and disadvantages of abbreviation?
2. Discuss the apparent truths present in the Parkinson excerpt. Is the case overdrawn? Is the author serious in our use of the formula which he has developed?
3. Trace the evolution of the concept of administration as a process through its various stages. What is the advantage of thinking of administration in terms of the problem-solving technique outlined by Griffiths and Hemphill?
4. In what ways does the concept of administration as a process fall short of full explanation of the field of administration? In what ways is it helpful?

* Jesse B. Sears, *The Nature of the Administrative Process* (New York: Mc-Graw-Hill, 1950).

† Russell T. Gregg, "The Administrative Process," in Roald F. Campbell and Russell T. Gregg (eds.), *Administrative Behavior in Education* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957); Roald F. Campbell, John E. Corbally, Jr., and John A. Ramseyer, *Introduction to Educational Administration*, second edition (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1962); Daniel E. Griffiths, John Hemphill, et al., *Administrative Performance and Personality* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1961).

TABLE 7-1

Comparative Views of Administration as a Process:
Viewer, Date of Observation, Work in which Reported, and Elements of the Administrative Process

FAYOL	GULICK AND URWICK	SEARS	GREGG	CAMPBELL, CORBALLY, AND RAMSEYER	GRIFFITHS AND HEMPHILL
1916 <i>Administration Industrielle et Générale</i>	1937 <i>Papers on The Science of Administration</i>	1950 <i>The Nature of the Administrative Process</i>	1957 "The Administrative Process"	1962 <i>Introduction to Edu- cational Adminis- tration</i>	1961 <i>Administrative Performance and Personality</i>
Planning Organizing	Planning Organizing	Planning Organization	Decision-making Planning	Decision-making Programming	Recognizing a problem Preparing to clarify the problem
Commanding	Staffing	Direction	Organizing	Stimulating	Initiating work in preparation
Coordination	Directing	Coordination	Communicating	Coordinating	Organizing and judging facts, opinions, and situations
Control	Coordinating Reporting Budgeting	Control	Influencing Coordinating Evaluating	Appraising	Selecting alternatives Deciding and acting

5. In what ways can the *behavior* of the school administrator be explained in terms of the process of problem-solving? What graphic illustration might be utilized to show how the superintendent seeks to take the schools from where they are presently to a predetermined position in the future?

6. Where citizens' advisory committees are indicated as being necessary, should the superintendent (a) set them up himself, (b) seek permission from the board to do so, or (c) ask the board to appoint them? What are the advantages and disadvantages of each approach?

7. How can one be assured that citizens' advisory committees are (a) representative of the community as a whole, (b) only advisory, and (c) confined to a definable task? Should these groups be given a "charge"? Who should give the charge if one is given?

8. In Table 7-1, what evolutionary trends are evident in the "alphabetical taxonomy" originated by Fayol in 1916?

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CHAPTER 8

The Dynamics of Administration

GROUP DYNAMICS AND THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR

A social order such as that of the United States is composed of two major elements, groups and individuals. While there can be no groups without individuals, individuals are often influenced by the organizations to which they belong, and through which they seek a better life. The study of group dynamics is the study of people in groups. In this respect, group dynamics is societal and sociological in nature. The purpose of this section is to explore group dynamics as it relates to the school administrator in the modern American school system today.

When classified according to their broad general purposes, groups may be thought of as family, political, social, economic, religious, and educational groups. There are many names for groups—institutions, organizations, cartels, parties, clans, tribes, companies, and commissions, to name a few. The school in our society is an institution among many others with the purpose of educating the young to lead a better life. "Groupness" in schools may be related to the board of education, the faculty and staff, the noninstructional personnel, the student body, or all of these together.

As a group grows in number, its problems of intercommunication and cohesiveness become problems of the first magnitude. School administrators therefore must study the characteristics of groups to work effectively with them, while at the same time considering the welfare and personal ambitions of each individual who makes up the group. Because he is involved with many "publics," the school administrator must know and appreciate the interrelationships of group to group within the community. And he must know how to form groups and

lead them into desirable channels of endeavor to meet the societal expectations which people have for their public schools.

Let us begin the study of group dynamics with a selection from Cartwright and Zander, which poses some basic problems in group dynamics.

ISSUES AND BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander

AN ADEQUATE understanding of the work in group dynamics requires viewing it in broad perspective. Three facts should especially be kept in mind. First, group dynamics became a specialized field of inquiry only in recent years. Its history is brief, and although its growth has been rapid, it has not yet reached full maturity. Second, group dynamics is concerned with intellectual problems that have puzzled man from earliest history. Contemporary discussions of group dynamics tend to invoke, consciously or unconsciously, one or another of the classic solutions to such problems. They are, moreover, the stuff of which social and political ideologies are made, and few people react to them with indifference. Third, group dynamics has roots in a wide range of traditionally separated fields. Contributions to the literature of group dynamics come from people with remarkably different backgrounds and training. Each author brings with him certain values which color his attitude toward groups, certain conceptions about which variables are the most important, certain beliefs about appropriate methods of research, and a particular vocabulary for describing groups and explaining why things happen as they do in groups.

In view of the youthfulness of the field and its heterogeneous origins, one must be prepared to encounter in it a wide array of values, theoretical orientations, basic assumptions, concepts, and methods. In a sense, group dynamics is in its adolescence, and like many adolescents it is testing out its capacities, trying out its newly acquired skills, but primarily seeking a coherent sense of self-identity. In this chapter we shall examine some of the basic issues which group dynamicists face in their efforts to achieve a systematic body of knowledge about groups.

PRECONCEPTIONS ABOUT GROUPS

In the classic discussions of social and political philosophy there persist two opposite views of the relation of man to society. In the one, individual man

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is imperfect or even evil, and social organization is required to do things he cannot do alone or to control his aggressive, selfish, and exploitative tendencies. Without cooperation, social organization, and groups of various kinds, man would not survive biologically; and without group standards, social values, and laws, or other means of controlling behavior, civilization would be impossible.

According to the opposite view, man is intrinsically good in what is called his "natural" condition, and social organization of all kinds is bad. The state, organization, or the group only inhibit and corrupt the individual. Groups demand blind conformity, they encourage mediocrity, they generate regressive dependency, and they cling stubbornly and irrationally to the status quo. The emotional flavor of this extreme view may be illustrated in C. G. Jung's assertion that "when a hundred clever heads join a group, one big nincompoop is the result, because every individual is trammelled by the otherness of the others."

Contemporary discussions of modern society reveal these two conflicting evaluations of man and groups. And, unfortunately, the term "group dynamics" has become associated in some popular writings with the first of these. For example, in his critique of "the organization man," William H. Whyte, Jr. asserts that this odious creature has been encouraged by group dynamicists, who have deified the group. Group dynamicists believe, according to such critics, that everything should be done by and in groups: individual responsibility is always bad, man-to-man supervision is bad, and even individual therapy is bad; the only good things are committee meetings, group decisions, group therapy, group think, and togetherness. In short, the group dynamicists are said to hold the classic view that individual man is imperfect or impotent while the group is good. Although this extreme position has undoubtedly been advocated by some people calling themselves "group dynamicists," it does not reflect accurately the views of most people working in this field.

Anyone responsible for the management of group life must make some working assumptions about the values which will be gained or lost as a result of any particular kind of group activity. But it is the essence of the researcher's task to attempt to determine empirically what these effects are in actuality. The group dynamicist who is dedicated to research refuses to begin his investigations by assuming he knows the answers. He cannot, of course, avoid making basic assumptions of various sorts in his work, but these should merely guide his research so that he can better discover the true nature of group life. The basic assumptions held by most group dynamicists may be summarized by means of the following four propositions.

1. *Groups are inevitable and ubiquitous.* This is not to say that groups must maintain the properties they display at any given time in a particular society nor that every group which now exists should perpetuate itself, but one can hardly conceive of a collection of human beings living in geographical proximity under conditions where it would be correct to assert that no groups exists and that there is no such thing as group membership. Even the most

extreme individualists, such as the Beatniks, form groups which have their own language, heroes, hangouts, and distinctive dress. In fact, it is clear to social scientists that conformity is as extreme among such groups of non-conformists as anywhere in society.

2. *Groups mobilize powerful forces which produce effects of utmost importance to individuals.* A person's very sense of identity is shaped by the groups of significance to him—his family, his church, his profession or occupation. A person's position in a group, moreover, may affect the way others behave toward him and such personal qualities as his level of aspiration and self-esteem. Group membership itself may be a prized possession or an oppressive burden; tragedies of major proportions have resulted from the exclusion of individuals from groups or from enforced membership in groups.

3. *Groups may produce both good and bad consequences.* The view that groups are completely good or the view that they are completely bad are both based on convincing evidence. The only fault with either is its one-sidedness. An exclusive focus on pathologies or upon constructive features leads to a seriously distorted picture of reality.

4. *A correct understanding of group dynamics (obtainable from research) permits the possibility that desirable consequences from groups can be deliberately enhanced.* Through a knowledge of group dynamics, groups can be made to serve better ends, for knowledge gives power to modify human behavior and social institutions.

The group dynamicist, then, who starts with these assumptions agrees with the individualist that groups do exert powerful influences on people and that these influences may be harmful to individuals, to the group itself, and to society at large. But he maintains that cooperative action is essential for the attainment of important objectives and that groups can be beneficial to individuals and to society. Instead of concentrating exclusively on the restrictive and inhibiting features of groups, the group dynamicist advocates the scientific study of groups and of the individual's relations to groups with the belief that a better understanding of the nature of these will make it possible to devise groups and procedures better able to attain the legitimate goals of groups, to enhance the best values of society, and to enrich the personal resources of individuals.

POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION IN EDUCATION

What is the relationship of partisan politics to public education? How is the school administrator involved? Recent studies have generated a proliferation of books and articles on the subject. Whereas, once the word "politics" was looked upon with disdain by schoolmen, within the recent past a concerted return of the school administrator to partisan politics is noticeable. In Professor Bunzel's article, which

follows, the author's viewpoint is that "education is inextricably involved with politics and politics prevades education." Other writers have made similar statements. In the midst of these circumstances, the school administrator, together with the board of education, must make important decisions affecting education. The implication, therefore, is that school administrators must know the pressures which generate around the schools, and must be able to cope with them on a day-to-day basis.

PRESSURE GROUPS IN POLITICS AND EDUCATION

John H. Bunzel

ONE OF THE fascinations of the American political system, at least for the political scientist, is that there is no precise explanation for the way it operates. Countless theories have been advanced which claim to account for the institutional arrangements and procedures we have devised to conduct our political affairs. They range all the way from the normative natural rights theory at the heart of our Bill of Rights to the most recent adventures in behaviorism which would make a "science" out of politics. Each in its own way doubtless has a truth by the tail and has contributed substantially to our knowledge. But one inescapable fact emerges: all tightfisted, ironclad assumptions of determinism must be rejected in trying to understand the American political process. Politics is still the art of the second best, which is to say the art of the possible.

As a matter of fact, both American and foreign observers are constantly struck by the incomprehensibility of our politics. As a people, we are so casual about what we believe that we seem to lack any convictions at all. We are so apathetic about what our government does, or who runs it, that we rarely turn out more than half of our eligible voters for an election. We assume the role of the leading democratic power of the world, but often do not seem to act like one. And as for our two political parties—well, there is just no accounting for them.

Daniel Bell has suggested that there are roughly three ways of looking at American politics. In his view, attention should be paid to 1) the role of the

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electoral structure, 2) the democratic tradition in the United States, and 3) the role and place of interest groups in the American political system. My major concern here, at least at the outset, is with the third area, but a few words should be said about the other two.

One of the basic and decisive facts of American political life is our two party system. For better or for worse, this constitutes the mainstream of American politics. All of the protest organizations and movements in American history have learned the hard way that a rigid electoral structure delimits their role. They have learned that to be effective and successful, they must work within our two major parties. What stands out in our democratic tradition is that American politics has lacked an aristocratic bias and elitism, at least since the days of Andrew Jackson when American democracy took on a populist look and "the people" emerged as the ultimate source of power and appeal. Politics became the arena of the common man, and politicians learned that they had to speak to the people in democratic terms.

THE POLITICS OF PLURALISM

But it is the role of interest groups in the United States that is of special importance. I would offer the following proposition in making this point: The role of interest groups in American society, coupled with the identification of that role with the public good, provides the framework for understanding American politics. The Madisonian tradition is the dominant political tradition in the United States. It was Madison who first spoke of the inevitability of "factions" in society and pointed out that there could be no liberty without them. Madison's contribution is significant because he advanced a theory that would insure a free society in a large territory. (Therefore, democracy had been identified with small states and communities.) There would be more people from whom to choose able men and a wider variety of interests, and it would be possible to check and balance these social and economic interests so no one interest or faction could become tyrannical over the rest of the community. Faction was the basis of freedom, but the effects of factions must be controlled. Therefore, he said, the government was to act as a broker in settling conflicting interests.

Whatever the weaknesses and inconsistencies of Madison's theory, much of the story of American politics can largely be told in terms of the constant factional struggles which have made up our political history and the way in which our two political parties have combined these conflicting interests, strange alliances, and heterogeneous groups into their own fold.

A central point stands out today as it did in 1789: politics is a process of interaction among groups as well as individuals. This deserves emphasis because many of us still cling to eighteenth century illusions about the nature of political power. We still focus on the individual and neglect his group identifications. We tend to sing the praises of the "independent" voter and the "independent" congressman as ideal types in exercising political power.

But when we exalt the individual and the "independent," we ignore a blunt fact of political life—that power in present-day politics springs from organization. In a large part of our life today, the individual—the average citizen—is almost an innocent bystander and frequently a bewildered one. He feels that his vote is futile because he does not see how it can influence public policy. "Organization represents concentrated power," someone has said, "and concentrated power can exercise a dominating influence when it encounters power which is diffuse and not concentrated, and therefore weaker."

In our modern industrial society, there has been a proliferation of groups to the point that no aspect of our lives is left untouched. Family, schools, churches, street gangs, fraternities, labor unions, cultural groups, professional associations: one need only name a cause and he will quickly discover a group actively promoting it—or, in the case of Los Angeles, a movement about to start one. This vast multiplication of interest groups, it should be stressed, has resulted in the breaking up of considerable unobstructed power that formerly resided for the most part in certain social and economic classes. It is in this sense that we can now refer to our government as the broker state, in the same way that we can evaluate the American political system against the backdrop of modern-day democratic pluralism.

DIVERSE PRESSURES ON SCHOOLS

Nowhere is the politics of pluralism more manifest than in education. In every community throughout the country, the schools are on the receiving end of turbulent pressures from groups on every side. Consider for a moment the demands one would be expected to heed if he sat on the local school board. If he lived in a community where there were farmers, he would hear their cries for courses which would benefit rural children. The trade unions, if there were any, would want consumer economics and more shop courses. Another group would argue strongly for vocational courses at the expense of general education. The churches would press for more released time; others would insist that every member of the school board stand up for the right to have God and prayers in the classroom. A taxpayers' group would want to cut educational costs to the bone, while a newly formed group of parents would want to issue bonds for school expansion.

The board member would quickly discover, if he did not already know, that education is inextricably involved with politics and that politics pervades education. It is in the midst of such force and counterforce that superintendents, principals, and boards of education must make their important and complex decisions. All of these pressures for special content in the curriculum, for economy or expansion, or for particular benefits for business or other interests—are part of the daily routine of those who administer to the needs of our schools.

It is no secret that schools are also decisive in forming attitudes. To this end, widely assorted groups expend their energy in trying to control what is

taught in the classroom and what is allowed on the library shelves. James McCamy of the University of Wisconsin makes the important observation that most American schools remain free to be sensible only because there is a competition of pressures upon them. When self-appointed guardians of God, Country, and the Flag take out after a "subversive" textbook, other citizens come forward to defend the right and need of students to explore every side of a question. The forces upholding the free pursuit of ideas are not always successful, but then neither are the extremists always victorious in their shrill demands to dictate what the schools should teach.

For better or for worse, as Professor McCamy says, the graduates of public education are "Democrats and Republicans, businessmen and workingmen, churchgoers and non-churchgoers, almost unanimously believers in private enterprise, mostly democratic in their attitudes toward others, most of them, by far, decent, hard-working, patriotic Americans who will do their duty." They are the products of a school system that is on the whole free to discuss whatever comes up, a school system which, in turn, reflects the plural forms and arrangements of American society and the continuous interaction of multiple and diverse political forces.

THE MYTH OF A RULING CLIQUE

One of the myths that die hard is the notion that most of the important political decisions in the United States are made by so-called powerful and influential members of a ruling clique. This general idea lies behind the elitist bias and implications of C. Wright Mills' provocative book, *The Power Elite*. In it, he professes to describe the pyramidal structure of American society, headed by a triumvirate of military, business, and political influentials who are in command of the country's major decision-making centers. Floyd Hunter presents the same picture in miniature form in his study of the power structure of Regional City (Atlanta, Georgia) where again a ruling group is said to make the important decisions. Hunter discovered some forty members of the community who, in effect, ran the city. Not surprisingly, they were the economic notables, the leading members of the business community. They exercised their power more in private than in public and in a way which came close to a kind of benevolent manipulation. The point is that these economic interests in Regional City—and, for C. Wright Mills, throughout the United States—were seen to be the real determinants of political action. Like the proverbial iceberg which is nine-tenths submerged, the major economic forces of the community are somewhere behind the scenes, mysteriously pulling strings and making the community hum to their own self-interested tune.

I have overdrawn the picture to make a central point. In the view just outlined, the pluralism of our political institutions and decision-making procedures is denied and in its place is substituted a monolithic structure of power and influence. Put another way, politics is reduced to economics. Political

decisions, far from being regarded as the outcome of a complex interaction of competing demands on responsible political leaders by an assortment of claimants, are seen instead as the virtual conditioned reflex of a power structure run by some economic group or groups.

The earliest investigations of American communities were done by sociologists. One thinks of the classic and pioneering *Middletown* studies by the Lynds. Only recently have political scientists discovered, or rediscovered, what is fast becoming a major field of teaching and research—urban politics. They are following in the sociologists' footsteps but are making important corrections to several sociological assumptions and conclusions. Their increasing attention to the distribution rather than the concentration of political influence has resulted in a reevaluation of the meaning and location of power in American society.

It has been remarked that we may say about power in general only what St. Augustine said about time—that we all know perfectly well what it is until someone asks us. Current research in the politics of community decision making is examining the notion of power in the context of actual community behavior. Stated another way, the political scientist is now concerned with putting the concept of power to a variety of empirical tests. Many observers of American society have long entertained the idea that power—for example, the power to “run the city”—is concentrated in a small ruling clique because of the enormous inequalities in the distribution of the resources of influence such as property, income, and social status. According to this view, an economic and social elite decides things behind the scenes—in effect, filling the political vacuum. This explanation fits nicely the general theory of elite control. But the prior question that is now increasingly being asked is this: Given the existence of these inequalities, who in fact actually makes the important community-wide decisions? The answers, it is now clear, must come from knowledge based on observation.

POLITICS OF EDUCATION

The politics of education in all of our communities is a case in point. It has often been convenient if not fashionable to talk of a given community as “business dominated,” meaning that the businessmen in town are the only organized group with effective power and influence. Few would deny, of course, that there are communities which approximate this business-dominated model. The difficulty is that in too many cases the very assumption of business influence and domination precedes any hard investigation of what, in fact, the community power situation really is. There is a tendency, epitomized by the inside dopester style and savvy of newspapermen who cover City Hall, to ask, “Who runs things around here?” The more pertinent question is, “How do things get done around here?” The former almost invites a response suggestive of some kind of ruling elite; the latter has the merit of at least allowing for a wider range of possible replies.

Professor Robert Dahl's recent study of New Haven is illuminating in this regard.¹ He and his associates began their explorations with one essential question in mind: who governs the city? Before long, they realized that this question had to be broken down into many others. They discovered, for example, that the members of the community who played a decisive role in, say, urban redevelopment were not those who participated in the process of decision making in education. Through an exhaustive analysis of carefully obtained interview data, Professor Dahl showed that there are important differences among participants with respect to both the *frequency* with which they participate and the *range* of issue areas in which they participate. But only a small group of citizens—the professional politicians—participate steadily. "These are citizens to whom politics is a career, or at least an alternate career. They use their political resources at a high rate, acquire superior skills and exert a very high degree of influence. These citizens, the professionals, are sources of both stability and instability in the political system."² Perhaps the major conclusion of Dahl's study is that politics cannot be viewed as the slave of economics, that political decisions are not the inevitable outgrowth of economic position and social standing.

A number of years ago, I was involved in a research project that sought to determine the role of organized labor in the decision-making process of a major American city—specifically, San Francisco. The study, limited in scope and purpose, was designed to explore labor's relations with the political, governmental, religious, educational, business, and civic elements in the community. I was guided by the premise that labor's power and influence would be revealed (and could be observed) in the ways it used its political knowledge and skills and thereby had effective access to the decision-making organizations of government and occupied an important position in the community power structure. Before World War II, American labor had neither the resources nor the time to become actively engaged in local civic affairs. Today, however, the picture is radically changed; community agencies are now seeking the support of labor, and the unions, in turn, are gaining a new understanding of community problems.

In any American community, the school system is one of the major social institutions. The stake of business in the educational process is well known. The schools are regarded as the training ground for future business leadership, and to this end business interests, as well as other groups from the middle and upper classes, stress the advantages of our free enterprise system and expect teachers to uphold its principles. Labor, on the other hand, looks upon the schools as an avenue of occupational and social mobility for its members and particularly their children. Labor feels that education must train young people to be citizens in a democratic community. Education is seen as another step by which the union member can improve his chances to compete in our economic system. Labor believes adequate vocational courses

¹ Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 355 pp.

² *Ibid.*, p. 301.

should be provided for those who are interested and that all students should be encouraged to have contact with vocational subjects. It tends to place less emphasis on the traditional, academic type of education. It is opposed to special classes for the gifted and is against removing them from contact with other students.

Thus in the major educational controversy which erupted in San Francisco two years ago, labor exerted its influence to change Lowell High School from an academic to a comprehensive school. Labor was joined by the principals and teachers of the comprehensive schools in the city who understandably resented the fact that Lowell enjoyed a reputation for higher standards than did their own high schools. The teachers at Lowell and the school's alumni association were among the groups influential in support of the academic program.

A prominent union leader offered the following more or less random observations on labor's educational goals and responsibilities:

We have trouble all the time with various taxpayers groups that want to whittle down on vocational schools, apprenticeship programs and the like. We are always having to answer back to attacks on such things as Adult Education. We think these are very necessary and should be continued. Also Child Care Centers. We have always felt deeply about these. We need a decent and a rich Child Care program. Our Women's Organizations support these. Waitresses, for example. They are strong supporters because they have a concern about having their kids taken care of.

Education is a continuing process. You have all the large taxpaying groups continually checking and analyzing the activities of the Board of Education, cutting down and chopping away. In the structure of the Board of Education you have one labor man and six other people. Generally over the years these six are predominantly wealthy or people with business or insurance interests, and by its very nature is bound to be a conservative Board. Thus when it comes to school house construction you will likely see a lot of whittling away. We feel a new school should be a modern complete school. We don't like a school being just specifically an academic school. The basic motive for this kind of academic school is tax-conscious purposes, in our opinion. It's going to cost more money to have a comprehensive high school. An academic high school is the cheapest school. Of course we think it will cost them more in the long run when they eventually have to meet these needs. Our people pay a helluva lot of the taxes, and indirectly probably pay them all.

In San Francisco or any place else, labor's efforts to implement its educational objectives have not always been successful. But in recent years, the involvement of organized labor in these matters has developed to the point where its voice, if not equal to that of the business community, is certainly increasingly important. Of even more interest to the political scientist, however, is the mounting evidence that neither power nor politics in American society is as closely wed to business and financial interests as the varying elitist theories have regularly insisted.

It is undeniable that economics and politics cannot be separated in any strict way. It is also a safe presumption that business leaders and groups not

only have more pervasive influence in the general community but also have far greater access to the "tension points" of the decision-making process. This is not to say, however, that these groups and individuals exercise such power and influence so continuously that there are no opportunities for others to participate. In our large metropolitan areas, social change takes many forms and is a response to a variety of different pressures. Local boards of supervisors, for example, are sensitive not only to the ballot box but also to a wide range of influence, persuasion, bargaining, and power in which a multitude of private groups and organizations play a decisive part from one day to the next. It is in this gray area that a disproportionate amount of power may be wielded by some groups and individuals rather than by others. To talk of community decision making, therefore, is to recognize that some of the most crucial "public" decisions are neither public nor private.

If one takes such a pressing problem as the school system, it is clear that the shape and direction of a community's educational program is not simply the result of an electoral choice or even of a public administrative decision. It is also the result of intricate relations between public officials, the board of education, minority racial organizations, teachers groups, neighborhood groups, and many others.

Given the impact of multiple groups on the schools as instruments of the whole community, there is an urgent need for school administrators, along with all other responsible community leaders, to recognize the legitimate role of these groups in our political system and to find ways of dealing with them constructively and democratically.

ADMINISTRATORS INFLUENCE OTHERS

The able school administrator is one who influences the formal and informal groups within the community in the paths which will best benefit the schools. Author Dykes takes the position that school administrators should develop "some sophistication" in understanding the community power structure.

FACE-TO-FACE WITH THE POWER ELITE

Archie Dykes

CERTAIN persons in a community have more influence than others. This social phenomenon has been confirmed many times over by the findings of sociological investigations.

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Robert Dahl, in his New Haven studies, found that "on any single issue, there are only a few influentials; one usually finds that, for any particular sector of policy, only a small number of persons ever initiate alternatives or veto the proposals of others." Roald Campbell, in a review of research dealing with community forces and administrative behavior, concludes that "community control is exercised by a handful of influential people who seem, for the most part, to be willingly accorded their positions of influence by their fellow citizens. Within this welter of forces and their attendant restrictions, the school administrator, often a social stranger, must find his way." Other significant research is going on in this area now.

But we have permitted the sociologists and political scientists to wrestle with this problem alone for too long. It is time the education profession developed some sophistication in the matter of community power structure. The phenomenon is obvious to all. No administrator can discharge his leadership responsibility adequately until he is able to relate himself effectively to the community decision-making process, and a decisive element in that process is the informal power structure within the community.

Ironically, most training programs in educational administration give the administrator considerable scholarly knowledge of the workings of the formal system of community decision-making without acquainting him with the way in which the informal power structure works for good and evil in community life. All too frequently, his knowledge in this area has to come, if at all, from hard and sometimes bitter experience.

One superintendent I know simply could not understand why his bond issue had been beaten so badly at the polls. He had made every effort to arouse public sentiment. The PTA groups had worked faithfully; the lay committee had left nothing undone which might contribute to the success of the referendum; and all indicators pointed toward public acceptance. But the issue was defeated! Finally, one of his friends, familiar with the community's hierarchy of influence, suggested he talk with Mr. Brown, the retired judge, before undertaking any future bond issues. The superintendent heeded the advice, discussed the educational needs of the community thoroughly with Judge Brown, and, over a period of time, secured his support and the support of his friends. The next time around, the bond issue was approved. What the superintendent, in his first attempt to get the issue passed, did not understand was that Judge Brown and the members of his group exercised immense influence in the community.

Every practicing administrator needs a keen awareness of how important decisions are made in his community, who makes them, and how he can relate himself to these persons in such a way as to influence their decision. I do not mean to imply that the administrator should become a politician—a manipulating Machiavelli. But a thorough understanding of the community decision-making process and the role played by influential community leaders, an understanding that goes beyond the PTA groups, the citizens' committees, the civic clubs, and the formal political structure to encompass the less apparent, more powerful determinants in community decisions, will be

3 STEPS TO STATESMANSHIP

1. *Identify*

Every administrator should make a conscious effort to identify community leaders who are outside the formal institutions and agencies of local government. The leadership roles of those who compose the formal institutions are readily observable, but the roles of those who operate "behind the scenes" are much more difficult to see. It is precisely these people, however, who wield the power in many cases.

2. *Educate*

Every administrator should devise ways and means of educating the informal leaders to the needs of the schools and the local educational program. Efforts in this area must be oriented to the value structure of the leaders and must coincide with their concepts of community progress. (The importance of good schools in attracting new industry is one possible appeal.) Unashamedly and without apology, the administrator should make these efforts to influence. There is, or should be, nothing here to compromise the administrator's principles or ethical standards. Total community leadership is, after all, the responsibility of the administrator, and the informal power structure is very much a part of the community.

3. *Lead*

Every administrator should demonstrate, by his dedication to the community's educational program and by his professional competence, that he is truly the community's educational leader. It is axiomatic that the leadership effectiveness of the school administrator is in direct proportion to the respect and prestige which he enjoys in the community. This is no less true of the informal power structure than of other community groups.

of great help to him. Implicit in such an understanding is an awareness of the social and economic forces that move and control men, of the means necessary to turn decisions into concrete programs, and of the relationship between the two.

Progress has, at times, been made without the active support of the influentials and, in a few communities, even in the face of opposition from them. But progress of truly significant proportions has never been made without the approval and support of those whose influence is decisive in the community. Naïvete on this point impairs leadership.

The state of affairs, of course, is unpalatable to many administrators. I do not argue the desirability of the social phenomenon. It is, nevertheless, a fact, and the failure of the school administrator to acknowledge its exist-

ence will not make it less real. He must do everything possible to assure that those who comprise the hierarchy of the informal power structure are informed about the educational needs of the community and made sensitive to the importance of these needs to the total welfare of the community.

As is the case in most matters with which the administrator must concern himself, achievement of these objectives is not simple. Success requires that he have professional competence and personal integrity of the highest order. If his motive is self-aggrandizement, his efforts will most probably fail. If his motive is a desire to further the community's educational program, he will probably succeed.

KNOW YOUR COMMUNITY

The importance of the school administrator knowing his community cannot be overemphasized. This knowledge requires an analysis of the power structure of the community, and some advice on what to look for in identifying the persons who have key roles in it. Failure to know the power structure and locate those persons high in it may have an adverse effect on the administrator's tenure in the community.

HOW COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES INFLUENCE ADMINISTRATIVE TENURE

Donald J. McCarty

THE CONVENTIONAL wisdom parceled out among insiders in the educational enterprise has one pivotal theme which cannot be easily set aside. "Know your community" is the final message stenciled on the consciousness of the eager young school administrator who moves from the unworldly cloister of graduate school to the reality of his first major responsibility. Many among us would hasten to corroborate this bit of practical advice, and for good reason.

Estimates of the length of tenure of public school superintendents vary, but most indicate unusually short terms of service. It has been estimated that even in coveted positions in large urban systems, the mean tenure is only nine years. It has been hypothesized, variously, that for the United States as a whole the mean tenure of all chief school officers in one school system is 3.7 years or that the yearly turnover is approximately 15 percent. The accuracy of these educated guesses, of course, is effectively obscured by the cultural conveniences invented to safeguard professional reputations. To

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put it simply, many retirements, position moves, and appointments to professorships of education are in truth the subterfuge behind which a repudiated leader is quietly removed from the scene without upsetting the tranquillity of the citizenry.

The alternatives in any one year are legion. In addition to remaining on the job with the support of the board of education, a school administrator may (1) involuntarily resign, retire early, or be fired; (2) voluntarily resign because he anticipates involuntary resignation; (3) remain for another year, but be looking for another job; (4) voluntarily resign or retire entirely because of "pull" factors of another job or of retirement.

Though frequently overlooked, these statistics about tenure should be interpreted in the light of administration and management in general because the school system is the largest enterprise in most communities and counties. This comparison is true whether size is computed in terms of the magnitude of the budget or the number of people directly involved. Since tenure of such short duration would be considered absurd in the business world generally, it is no small wonder that the profession of school administration is euphemistically dubbed the "uneasy profession."

SHORT TENURE OF ADMINISTRATORS

The extremely short tenure of chief school administrators could be the result of factors inherent in the role except for one fact: many superintendents have long and satisfying careers in the school system, and they retire voluntarily with permission most reluctantly granted by the school board, teachers, principals, and the public itself.

The importance of the problem hardly needs elaboration, but the following brief points may indicate some of the implications:

1. The prospect of short tenure does not encourage long-range programs whose effects may be realized long after the superintendent who initiated the program has been forced to resign. Yet long-range programs are crucial to educational program planning.
2. The prospect of short tenure discourages bold and experimental programs which might greatly improve our understanding of the educational process but which would need strong leadership and would risk failure, as does any experiment.
3. The prospect of short tenure is likely to have serious implications for the mental health of persons who play a role in our society which requires greater mental balance than do many others.
4. The widespread knowledge of short tenure is likely to have implications for recruitment which may eliminate many talented people from entering the profession.
5. Familiarity with the unique aspects of school management in any given community is not likely to be enhanced by short tenure. Indeed, adequate orientation to a particular community may well take a length of time approaching that of the mean tenure figure indicated above.

The proposition advanced in this article is that a major portion of variations in length of tenure for chief school administrators may be explained in terms of the power structure of the community. There is perhaps no set of variables more fundamental to a school system than those dealing with social power. For the purposes of this discussion, power is defined as the ability to determine the behavior of others, even against their wishes. Thus it is through the exercise of power relationships by community leaders that schools and school personnel are limited in aims and educational methodology. It is further assumed that the role of the superintendent, as it is actually played, is primarily a matter of integrating the interests of the power structure with those of accepted educational practice of personnel in the school and interpreting the position of each to the other. This is a most difficult assignment.

The power structure with which the superintendent must deal is neither as simple nor as uniform as the most popular case studies in sociology and political science might lead one to believe. Rather, evidence readily available to the careful observer of American society indicates that the power structure varies significantly from one community to another. If this be so, the aphorism "know your community" is no idle jest. Further, it is postulated that this variation in power structure has definite implications both for the structure of the school and for the political role of the superintendent.

FOUR TYPES OF POWER STRUCTURE

Sociological literature abounds in a concept of the power structure which is often called the "elite power model." This concept holds that the power structure of the community is a pyramid, with a few or even one man at the top. In matters of "big policy," the power structure directs the course of events in the community. "Big policy" includes school matters, particularly so when large bond issues are to be levied. This model of power has been criticized in that actual proof of such events is next to impossible to verify; still, for our purposes, we shall assume that at least some communities follow this pattern in leadership relations.

Obviously, the "elite power model" does not allow for conflict between sides of relatively even strength. Yet, there is much evidence that such a bargaining situation exists in many communities. The present author while engaged in an intensive study of one embattled school community found not only relatively even sides among factions, but the appearance of characteristics of power within each faction similar to those in the single elite power model in the dominated community. This type may be defined as the factional power structure.

There is also a considerable amount of evidence that some communities follow neither the dominated nor the factional power model. Rather, the power structure is pluralistic or diffused, with many poles of power. Presumably there is no single power structure which must be reckoned with for every situation; rather, the issue at stake determines the amount of

involvement by the various centers of power. This state of affairs may be labeled the pluralistic power structure. Power and community interest exist and the superintendent is not free to run the schools as he sees fit, but the power is not overwhelming.

A fourth type of structure may be found, especially among small rural communities. This type of community exhibits no active power structure, although for our purposes all that is required is that the community exert no active power relations with regard to school matters. We shall call this the inert power structure.

This is not an exhaustive list of community types—an exhaustive list will not be possible without far more research carried out in many more communities—but it does provide a conceptual tool for comparing school system environments and it increases our realization of the immense and powerful differences which certainly do exist among school communities.

The upshot is that the degree of looseness and tightness of a community power structure likely determines the amount of maneuvering open to the school administrator. A recent study by Horton¹ points out that even in communities which evince no particular power structure one can find so-called politically alienated groups. These are the people in the community who feel disaffected from community activities, who are inclined to look upon the school as a symbol for their alienation, and who, in protest, express their alienation by negative votes on school administration.

The community, then, should be viewed as a complex set of relationships which include a wide range of values and attitudes. The very fact of these complicated relationships, may well impede projected perspectives on education only incidentally related to a rational evaluation of the schools and their programs. In short, the war cry "Keep the schools out of politics" is naïveté in its most banal and dangerous state.

IDENTIFYING A COMMUNITY'S POWER STRUCTURE

Where, then, does our promising young administrator learn about the power structure of his community? He can hardly ask a wide sample of the citizenry to nominate the top influentials in the manner of the researcher nor can he innocently pretend that the exalted mission of his organization exempts it from the effects of power attempts. As he proceeds he will find that the identification of power relations is unusually difficult because empirically such relations are secretive and violate the explicit normative structure of American society.

The quickest way for him to find out where the major policy decisions are made or unmade in any community is to interview the city manager, a highly placed executive in the leading bank in town, a socially prominent

¹ John E. Horton, "The Angry Voter: A Study in Political Alienation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1960).

Rotarian who is a native of the community, and hope that their perceptions jibe with members of his board of education, who incidentally are his most valued counselors in a delicate mission of this type. Such a pointed investigation will lead him back into the more sedate techniques of checking newspaper files, studying census data, identifying who lives in the favored housing areas, obtaining the membership list of the more exclusive private clubs, and the like. On-the-spot observation of how local political issues of various kinds are actually resolved becomes the final decisive step in classifying a community's power structure.

KNOWING THE COMMUNITY IMPORTANT

Why is this information valuable to the school administrator? Certainly not to enable him to seek identification with power figures in order to learn the proper cues in controversial situations, intent mainly on avoiding public fuss. Rather, it is incumbent upon him as the political and ceremonial head of the school system to anticipate how the power structure may react to innovative and imaginative proposals in order that he may be better prepared to respond to pressures, if they are invoked. Does it really make any difference in the long run whether a school administrator is aware of the political facts of life about his community? Surely it does.

Unlike business it has to be recognized that the education of America's youth is clearly a contested notion; pedagogic goals are entirely too inchoate and mysterious to be translated readily into teaching goals. For instance, people consistently argue that "genuine" education is preparation for the university or that "true" education is aimed at improving social behavior. These are authentic symptoms of the debatable nature of educational goals. Loyalty to the American way of life is an almost universally accepted educational objective. Does this mean an inquiring citizen? Does it mean a conforming citizen? It cannot mean both. Whereas selling tissue paper may be the single most important objective for Kimberly-Clark, educational goals must be forged from a number of mutually contending traditions whose defenders are reluctant or unwilling to adjust their deep-seated differences.

Imagine a situation in which nearly everyone is willing to admit some expertise. Education fits this definition perfectly; since we all at one time or another have played an active role in the educational experiment either as teacher or learner, we have firsthand information and strong feelings to buttress our convictions. Who would deny that different people frequently have different ideas of what schools should do. No matter what the school program, it is likely to be criticized; in fact, lay appraisal of local educational programs is inextricably enmeshed in the larger community setting of which it is a part. It is within this anomic setting that I think the understanding of present educational management is best sought; there need be no apology for time spent in "knowing your community."

EFFECT OF POWER STRUCTURES ON TENURE

So much for this line of argument. There remains, then, the prediction of what is likely to happen to the tenure of the beleaguered school administrator as he treads warily among various types of community power structures.

Tenure will almost certainly be shorter in factional communities than in any other type. The very lack of stability generated when relatively equal power centers are in competition promotes frequent shifts in control of the decision-making apparatus. Today it may be one faction that is able to successfully demand foreign-language teaching in the elementary grades; tomorrow it may be another faction that turns "thumbs down" on a bond issue for a swimming pool. If the school administrator becomes identified with one faction in the minds of the other and the majority changes, or if he is too immovably committed to his own particular views, his leadership is jeopardized.

Let us examine another case in which the community power structure may impinge directly on the role of the administrator. Tenure is likely to be shorter when the superintendent is oriented toward internal matters of the school in the dominated and factional communities (i.e., curriculum reform) and toward the community with pluralistic or inert power structures (i.e., emphasis on public-relations program). What may well be the right recipe in one community turns out to be the wrong one in another; although it is regrettable that the opportunity for experiment and change depends to an inordinate degree on the character of the community power structure, the apparent correspondence is difficult to refute.

Other examples come readily to mind. Tenure may be shorter when the superintendent fails actively to support nonschool-related programs sponsored by the power structure in the dominated community, when the superintendent supports actively nonschool-related programs of distaste to the power structure, when the superintendent is professionally less well trained in the community with the pluralistic power structure, and when the superintendent expresses verbal impatience with barriers to changes in policy in the dominated and factional community, but not in the community with a pluralistic or inert power structure.

CONTINUANCE OF COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES

There is little likelihood that community power structures will automatically evaporate; as long as schools are controlled at the local level, and prospects are that there is not going to be any immediate change in such arrangements, it will not benefit us to rail against them. We should be much more concerned about how to encourage the innovative and courageous administrator; otherwise, by default, we shall encourage the more placid administrator who wants to enjoy a quieter life.

AIDS TO SUPERINTENDENT'S LEADERSHIP

There is only one effective measure as I see it. That is that, as soon as possible, each board of education at the local level should attempt to fortify and strengthen the superintendent's recommending prerogative. This prerogative is a safeguard to the schools, makes a channel of communication through the superintendent to and from the board, creates and nurtures the leadership role of the superintendent, and makes him a catalyst for educational progress. The professional staff quickly senses the real character of the working relationship between the board and its superintendent; opportunity for professional leadership by the superintendent is fractured if authority and responsibility is clearly deflected from his position. The superintendent should not be a broker trading in the pressures and demands of community conflict.

Each board of education should provide its superintendent with a reasonable form of term contract, perhaps three to five years, renewable annually. This action would provide for an annual audit of the superintendent's performance, would lessen the critical short-range emphasis by the superintendent on establishing goodwill with significant power figures as the surest method to continue tenure, and would greatly enhance the prospects for better education in every community in the land.

AN ALTERNATIVE

Are promising alternative methods of administering the schools available? In searching for the best method, it is often profitable to explore other ways. In the following selection, the convenor of art for the junior high schools of East York in suburban Toronto, Canada, suggests such an alternative.

ARE PRINCIPALS OBSOLETE?

R. G. Des Dixon

THERE is something pathetic about those former European kings who exist on a diet of dim hopes and the memory of past power. So long as they stay in Monte Carlo we can accept them as storybook characters in a vestigial fairyland. It is when they go campaigning in the real world that

SOURCE: From the *Phi Delta Kappan*, November 1959, pp. 57-60. Reprinted by permission of the *Phi Delta Kappan*.

they become pitiful and amusing. One is reminded of the die-hard blacksmith who pressed for the solution of traffic problems by the abolition of automobiles. Both the blacksmith and the ex-king can gather about them a handful of followers eager to solve twentieth century problems by returning to the good old days, but the fact remains—carriages and kings are obsolete.

It seems paradoxical, then, that a society unable to accept a return to one man control in problems national does an about-face and clutches at the straw of absolute principalship to solve problems educational. Evidence may not be conclusive that the latter is indeed the case, but enough indications have appeared to cause concern. The butcher offers gratuitously with the pork chops his opinion that the new principal is "really tightening up on those kids at the high school." A father whose son has failed recalls with reverence "the tough old bird" who ran his boyhood high school and made everybody toe the mark, teachers and students alike.

This is in the wake of the group dynamics tidal wave. Of course, the group dynamics trend in school administration may not have become established as a concept in the public mind, so that the present community attitude may be a manifestation of lingering Sputnik fever—a searching for educational security in the methods of a less hectic past—rather than a reaction to group dynamics. In the case of teachers, however, it seems unlikely that the group dynamics trend can have been missed by many of them, so that, if teachers share this apparent willingness to return to autocratic control, one might suspect a reaction to the methods of group dynamics rather than a symptom of Sputnik fever.

Do teachers want autocratic principals? Ask them and they usually say no. Pursue the matter and they seem to reveal a longing for "leadership." They want the administrative reins held tightly, but they still want considerable voice as to the direction in which the educational horse will be driven. It is probably fair to say that teachers want to do away with misapplications of group dynamics rather than group dynamics as such. They have had enough of principals who seem to abdicate the leadership role in favor of "groupiness"; they are fed up with committees drenched in permissiveness but barren of leadership and accomplishment.

Apparently, then, both public and teachers are searching for something better in school administration. Currently, the public seems to fancy the autocratic principal, but this position is indefensible in a democracy. The teachers appear to want principals who can provide the human relations advantages of the group dynamics approach while eliminating the disadvantages and remaining withal a true leader. It would take a master gardener to trim all the thorns from the bush while cultivating the blooms of permissiveness. There are not enough masters in the educational garden who could do the job day in and day out for a lifetime. Sooner or later the blooms would get chopped away in an attempt to overcome the thorns.

Perhaps the "something better" in school administration will come with an entirely new approach. It may be that the office of principal, like that of king, belongs to the past. The schools of Switzerland are run without

principals or headmasters. Teachers take turns being head teacher. Even such supervisory positions as exist (there are no inspectors or superintendents) are passed around among teachers. Under such a system, Swiss schools have come to rank with the world's finest.

From this European stronghold of democracy may come a cue for the next development in our educational scene, the teacher-run school. Simply having teachers take turns as head teacher would probably not satisfy our needs. We would fear the prospect of weak or dilettante teachers at the helm. The Swiss teachers are better educated (all academic secondary teachers must qualify for the doctorate) and apparently are all career teachers (there are very few women in the profession), so the rotation method appears to suit them.

THE STAFF ELECTS HEAD TEACHER

Our solution to the problem would be the election of a head teacher by vote of all staff members. Surely we can credit our teachers with enough sense to pick suitable people for the job. Experience seems to suggest that teachers know better than boards of education who among them should be promoted.

Suppose it is May. A special staff meeting is taking place at Millenium Secondary School. Before every teacher is a copy of the statement of qualifications submitted by each candidate for an administrative hitch. Any teacher who has taught full time throughout the present year at Millenium may offer himself as a candidate. If elected, he will hold office for three years on the Administrative Committee, called Adcom. Candidates have made their intentions known three weeks prior to the meeting and have circulated their statements of qualifications at least two weeks before, so that staff members have already had opportunities to consider and discuss the aspirants. All that remains is for each candidate to make an oral presentation to the staff and to be questioned by them.

Voting by secret ballot takes place one day after the special meeting. All teachers who have taught one year at Millenium and who have agreed to remain for the following year have the right to vote. Ballots are counted by the present Administrative Committee and the successful candidate is informed at once. Immediately thereafter the same information is made known to the entire staff. This clean and efficient method removes the torturing fears and delays of the traditional cloak and dagger method of promotion.

The newly elected member of Adcom will not officially take office until the following September but may sit in at meetings immediately in order to orient himself. As of September, he does his administrative chores for half of the day and teaches the other half. During the first year of tenure his duties are largely those of the traditional vice principal, that is, liaison between administration and students, though as a member of the three-man team he has a full voice in policy making. Since the title "principal" may

carry connotations not applicable at Millenium, the title "dean" is used. Thus, our first year man is assistant dean.

In his second year he becomes dean and spends all of his time on administrative duties. He is chairman of Adcom and head of the school. As such he will represent the school to the community and to the Board of Education.

The dean holds office for one year only, and then, for his third year, becomes secretary of the Administrative Committee. Again he will spend half of his time teaching. As secretary he is responsible for keeping the careful files, important in a dynamic administrative system. At the same time he acts as liaison between teachers and administration. The secretary has equal voting power along with the other two members of Adcom.

After three years in office, a teacher must return to classroom teaching for a full year before he can run for another administrative term. Since members of the Administrative Committee enjoy a certain prestige and are paid two thousand dollars above category, it is not uncommon for teachers to seek a second term. Then too, teachers who have served on Adcom at Millenium Secondary School are eligible for appointment to supervisory educational posts in Hypothetical Township. In fact, the School Board will consider applications for such positions only from teachers with Adcom experience in one of its schools. In this way the teachers have an indirect voice in selecting their supervisors. The teacher voice is further heard in top level administrative matters because the deans and secretaries from all schools in Hypothetical Township serve on an advisory council headed by the director of education for the township.

OK IN HYPOTHETICAL TOWNSHIP, BUT . . .

It is clear that teacher-run schools work very well in Hypothetical Township, but possible weaknesses will be pointed out by educators from traditional systems. Since teachers need only one year of service to be eligible as candidates for Adcom, a teacher in his second year of professional life might be assistant dean. With only two years behind him, a young man of, say, twenty-four, could become dean. The possibility exists, and perhaps it is wise to leave the door open to a young genius. After all, William Pitt the Younger was Prime Minister of Britain at age twenty-four. In practice, however, it is highly unlikely that a relatively inexperienced teacher would be elected to the Administrative Committee. Quite certainly, any staff of teachers about to vote an administrator into office would regard a considerable amount of teaching experience as an important qualification. Then too, five years or so of teaching experience could be made a prerequisite.

WILL IT PROVIDE STRONG LEADERSHIP?

Teachers from the traditional system will wonder whether or not the Adcom system can provide strong leadership while maintaining the advantages of the group dynamics approach. Obviously, the democratic aspect basis to

group dynamics is at the heart of the system. The administration is the teachers. Even if a member of Adcom decides to become an autocrat, he can be outvoted by the other two members. Besides, he will only be in office for three years. The coming and going of members each year will also prevent the establishment of an autocratic administrative clique. The question then is, will there be leadership?

Probably yes. Administrators in office for only three years are not likely to run out of energy and ride on past glory. Rather, they will go all out to prove themselves so that they may be re-elected. It is only for one year that a teacher serves as dean. Surely it is not too much to expect a man to tread the difficult path of democratic leadership for one year at a time. The ulcers should not develop that fast.

Though parents may be favorable to the autocratic principal at the moment because of a feeling that all is not right with education and because a certain sense of security derives from harkening to the past, it is quite likely that the democratic Adcom system could win them over. The idea of being voted into office has an appeal. Surely there is educational security in the knowledge that a man must produce or not be re-elected.

It might be argued that parents would become confused by the changing faces in school administration, but they are used to changes in municipal council, school board, and national government. In the long run Adcom would tend to keep the experienced people within a school. His reputation having been established, a teacher might remain with a given staff in order to be elected and re-elected to the Administrative Committee. In this way the community becomes acquainted with a continuing staff some of whom are at the helm at all times, rather than a continuing principal who, for better or for worse, remains in control.

Then too, if parents particularly like a certain dean they can let it be known and that man will be encouraged to remain and run again. By the same token, a dean of whom some parents disapprove will only be in office for one year at a time and the unhappy people will be relieved to see a new face come along automatically.

The question of continuity of policy arises. Quite likely the traditional principal will maintain a continuity, a sameness, throughout his tenure. But with only one member of Adcom retiring each year, surely the element of continuity is safeguarded. There is a difference, however, an important difference.

Perhaps the greatest indictment of the traditional system hinges upon this matter of continuity. A principal, once in office, has arrived. He is a made man. There are few opportunities for him to advance. Consequently his aim, conscious or unconscious, is likely to be to hang onto his piece of cake. Any idea likely to disturb the equilibrium is looked upon by the principal as a threat. Maintenance of the *status quo* is much safer than experimentation, even though progress will only come with the latter. Possibly as a result of this, education is often said to be fifty years behind developments in the rest of society.

Remove the principal, install Adcom, and the situation changes. Some members are likely to be younger than principals, so young ideas will have a chance. Since no one on the Administrative Committee can possibly remain there permanently, there will be no effort to protect a vested interest. An interest in progress will replace protection of the *status quo*. There can be little doubt that a teacher elected to Adcom will think in terms of "how much can I accomplish in three years?" Since teachers have a very considerable conservative streak in them, there is no danger of this enthusiasm going too far. Continuity plus progress will be the keynote.

ANOTHER FAULT OF TRADITIONAL SYSTEM

There is another indictment of the traditional system. Principals must necessarily become removed from the essential business of education—the students. Every teacher has heard a long-time principal drop a remark in all sincerity which shows, with startling certainty, that he is a generation out of touch with the student population. Since the Adcom dean is out of the classroom for one year only, it is impossible for him to become a stranger to student realities. As for the assistant dean and the secretary, they are half-time teachers. In other words, the new member of Adcom is eased out of the classroom in his first year by spending only half time on administration. All his efforts are administrative during his second year as dean. Then, during his third year as secretary, he is eased back into the classroom by teaching half-time.

This last argument has an opposite number. If on the one hand it is good to have administrators who retain familiarity with the classroom, on the other hand there may be advantages in having professional administrators do the important job of administration. Does a hospital administrator have to be a doctor? Does a school administrator have even to be a teacher, let alone one recently in contact with the classroom? The answer to the first question may be no, but the second question will probably get a universal yes. Perhaps the business administrator of a school system can well be a non-teacher but, within the school, the school-man is needed. If some credit is to be given to the trend toward specialization, then the question becomes, are principals likely to be more professional as administrators than Adcom men? The possibility of accumulating years of experience is clearly on the side of the principal, but the certainty of fresh blood is definitely on the side of Adcom. In the matter of training for administration, the two sides are equal. If summer courses in administration are required of principals, they could as well be required of Adcom candidates.

There may be some fear that the Adcom system would turn each school into a political arena with individuals and factions battling for office. This is doubtful. In the first place, teachers are largely interested in sound education and hence in sound leadership. They tend to be level-headed. In the second place, experience with the old system would suggest that many teachers do not wish to do administrative work. Probably the same few

who now apply for promotion would be candidates for Administrative Committees, the difference being that more of them would get a chance to prove their worth under the Adcom system. It hardly needs mentioning that the system currently in vogue is not without its political intrigues and pressures too. A good many principals have polished apples.

Adcom may offer scope for gifted women in education. The present system allows few females to enter administration, even though there are more women than men teaching today. There are several reasons for this situation, a major one being that many women teachers do not remain in the profession long enough to qualify for administrative posts under the present system. However, because a woman spends only a few years in education does not mean she has nothing to offer in administration. Schweitzer did not have to spend a lifetime playing the organ to be recognized as great in that among other fields. Since Adcom does not demand that a teacher be a very long time in education, it is quite likely that more women would have a chance to contribute to school administration. Probably the men would weaken a little and put up with a woman dean for one year, whereas they might refuse to work for years under a woman principal.

What of the administrative genius, the brilliant principal? Would the Adcom system, by returning administrators to the classroom, stifle the development of a future Ryerson? Not likely. Genius has a way of making its own way. Such a man would probably spend two terms on Adcom and then be ready for promotion to upper level supervisory posts. In the meantime, because of the committee system, he would have been forced to rub off some of his brilliance on other Adcom members and the teachers who elected him. On the national scene we have survived quite nicely when brilliant leaders have been denied office at Ottawa because terms have expired and re-election has not been forthcoming.

Adcom may have weaknesses, but they are essentially the weaknesses which are at the same time the strength of democracy. Maybe it is time for educators who preach democracy to practice it. Adcom is worth considering. If carriages and kings are obsolete, perhaps principals are too.

ADMINISTRATORS MUST GROW ON THE JOB

Finally, dynamics connotes change. The recent rapid changes brought about by advances in technology and worldwide communications have made it necessary for the administrator to continue to grow with the changing tide of events. The authors of the following selection suggest ways in which the school administrator may continue to grow in service.

IMPROVING ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP

W. H. Seawell and George W. Holmes, III

CHANGE is the order of the day. It has been stated aptly that no man is born today into the world in which he will live and no man will die in the world in which he has lived and has made his greatest contribution. It has been found that in today's culture, the average man must be re-educated several times during his working years and that, as a rule, a man will move either to a different position or to a higher position within his profession each five to seven years during his career. School administration is affected by these trends to the same degrees as are other professions. As a consequence, intensive, comprehensive, and continuous programs of in-service education must be provided within all professions if practitioners are to maintain an acceptable level of performance throughout their professional lives.

IN-SERVICE EDUCATION

In-service education may be defined as all of the activities in which an individual participates, after assuming a particular position, which contributes to the maintenance or improvement of his competence in the position. Normally, local school boards depend, to a large degree, upon the superintendents of schools for leadership in developing programs and activities which contribute to the in-service education of staff and teaching personnel. Quite naturally, superintendents gain considerable, professional in-service growth through job experience within local school situations and by participating in in-service programs and activities designed for staff and teaching personnel. The fact remains, however, that so much is demanded of the superintendent of schools in the way of leadership, and he, himself, needs an opportunity for in-service growth beyond that which is gained through job performance and through participating in programs specifically designed for staff and teaching personnel.

Local school boards, throughout the nation, are becoming increasingly concerned about what can be done to assist superintendents of schools to maintain and improve their already demonstrated competencies and abilities. It may be appropriate to review certain needs for providing professional growth opportunities for even the most competent and effective superintendents of schools:

SOURCE: From *The American School Board Journal*, February 1964, pp. 9-10. Copyright © 1964 by the Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Reprinted by permission of *The American School Board Journal* and the authors.

1. *Educational administration is a dynamic profession which does not remain fixed but constantly is shifting, changing, and growing.* Educational administrative practice is not of such a nature that it can depend upon fixed associations, specific and unchanging skills, and static knowledge. Each new day and each new year presents novel situations for the superintendent of schools. He either must be equipped to deal effectively with such situations or be willing to accept the consequences of ineffective performance.

2. *Regardless of the amount or the quality of education a superintendent of schools receives prior to assuming his position, his education is never completed.* So much is expected of the superintendent of schools in terms of leadership, technical knowledges, human relationships, and related job skills that it is becoming increasingly difficult for him to prepare fully for his position through preservice preparation programs. The very nature of growth and acquisition of knowledge is such that specific educational achievement at any particular time is merely a road marker on the highway of life. Growth and education are continuous throughout the life-span.

3. *The recent rapid advance of science and technology has placed new societal demands upon the schools and, in turn, upon superintendents of schools.* The accelerating rate of change in recent years staggers the highest levels of the imagination of man. The way of life, customs, culture, institutions, and mores of the American people constantly are being altered. The political world changes so rapidly that obsolescence is apparent before maps can be drawn and geographies can be written. Scientific and technological innovations have appeared so rapidly that the theory and practice of the art and science of education have failed to keep pace with societal demands. Superintendents of schools constantly must be alert to develop fresh mental outlooks if they are to keep abreast of change and meet the demands placed upon them by those whom they serve.

4. *Some superintendents of schools have not engaged in adequate programs of professional preparation prior to assuming their positions.* Certification regulations of most states require minimal professional preparation in order to qualify for the position of superintendent of schools. Such minimal requirements, as a rule, do not give assurance that adequate professional programs have been completed before individuals become eligible for the position. Occasionally, local school boards select as superintendents of schools able young men who have demonstrated potential leadership and administrative ability and who have not completed adequate professional preparation for their positions. In such instances, it should be remembered that good men can become better men through continued professional preparation.

5. *Superintendents of schools are less transient than once commonly was believed; therefore, they should be assisted in their efforts to avoid the danger of "becoming stale" or "getting into a rut" after a long tenure in their positions.* Recent research reveals that superintendents of schools throughout the nation have remained in their present positions, on an average, for a nine-year period. Dangers of becoming enmeshed in the detailed work of

helping to run the civic affairs of the community, becoming involved in business interests on the side, and becoming buried in the administrative minutiae of the job must be avoided. Superintendents of schools are subject to the same temptations to "become stale," or "get in a rut," as are men and women engaged in other professions. There is the ever present possibility that a superintendent of schools can become a 20-year veteran who has had one year's experience 19 additional times! Job efficiency rarely remains constant. In most cases, it either improves or deteriorates.

6. *The superintendent of schools, as an educational leader, must exhibit professional growth if those, whom he professes to lead, are to grow.* The most influential aspect of the leadership of a superintendent of schools is the example he sets. Professional growth is contagious. The superintendent of schools cannot expect his staff and his teaching personnel to grow in-service unless there are evidences of continuous professional growth on his part.

7. *The superintendent of schools must keep abreast of newer educational practices in order to lessen the time lag between the discovery and application of new knowledge.* The problems related to the improvement of education in America are too crucial to permit any great time lag between the discovery and application of new knowledge. The superintendent of schools must involve himself in activities which will keep him conversant with what is happening in the professional field of education. Only through such involvement may school systems be assured of enlightened administrative leadership.

SUGGESTIONS TO SCHOOL BOARDS

Local school boards that are interested in maintaining the efficiency and effectiveness of their able and dedicated superintendents of schools often ask: What can be done by a policy-making body, such as a local school board, to provide opportunities for in-service professional growth for superintendents of schools? No one answer is a panacea for solving this problem. There are, however, some suggestions which might be helpful to those local school boards that are interested in the problem:

1. Administrative assistance should be provided for the superintendent of schools so that he may be relieved of routine administrative tasks and thereby be able to spend more of his time with underlying problems of leadership than otherwise would be possible.

2. Budget provisions, however small, should be made in every school system to support educational experimentation whereby new ideas and procedures may be tested.

3. Adequate travel allowances should be provided for the superintendent of schools so that he may attend state and national conferences pertaining to educational problems.

4. Leaves of absence for the superintendent of schools should be granted for educational travel.

5. Budget allowances should be provided so that the superintendent of schools, from time to time, might employ consultative help in management practices and educational planning.

6. Leaves of absence should be granted for formal study.

7. Means should be provided whereby it would be possible for the superintendent of schools to visit other school systems in order to gain new ideas and insights.

8. Provisions should be made whereby a local school system and nearby colleges and universities may engage in a cooperative program of educational improvement within the local school system.

9. Provisions should be made whereby the local school system might affiliate with a cooperative school study council.

10. Adequate vacation time should be provided so that the superintendent of schools may have time for reflective thinking and recreational activities, thereby renewing his mental and physical vigor which is so essential to the rigorous demands of his position.

Many local school boards already have made provisions for effecting many of the suggestions offered. Others will improve opportunities for their superintendents to grow in-service as time passes on.

Worthwhile outcomes of any enterprise are dependent upon the effective orientation of human effort and efficient utilization of material resources through the processes of administration. Whatever opportunities are provided for improving executive leadership within local school systems will be reflected in improved educational programs for the children and youth of America.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Explore the research which has been done with primary groups. What is the direction of this research? What implications are to be drawn for school administration from the latest findings in this area?

2. Discuss the two opposite views of the relationship of man to society presented in the Cartwright and Zander selection. Is there evidence that, in American schools, one point of view is predominant?

3. Are pressure groups in public education necessary and desirable? If so, what implications for the preparation of school administrators may be drawn?

4. Discuss the alternative to present practice presented by Dixon. Do you agree or disagree? Why?

5. What methods of in-service development are provided in your state for school administrators? Would you favor compulsory in-service development programs for the chief district school administrator which might provide up to one year's absence from the district for purposes of growth?

6. Devise an in-service developmental program for the administrators, including the chief school administrator, for your own school district. Should the board of education provide leaves of absence, sabbaticals, paid attendance at universities and colleges, and the like for the administrative corps? Under what conditions?

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CHAPTER 9

Administration in Terms of Role

LINE AND STAFF ORGANIZATION

The problem of who does what in the educational organization is simplified somewhat by "formalizing" interrelationships by use of the line and staff form of administrative organization. In the following excerpt Dr. Peterson shows such a formal arrangement, in contrast to the informal but often quite effective lines of communication which evolve in the day-to-day operation of the system. The superintendent of schools is responsible for devising a formal organizational pattern and putting it into operation. Such definition and clarification of the "role" of each member of the organization may be accompanied by a "job description" which outlines in considerable detail the responsibilities and rights inherent in each position. Ordinarily, these responsibilities and rights arise from the needs of the parent organization, and may change from time to time, as indeed they may differ considerably from district to district. The genius of administration is in defining and clarifying roles to the extent that the greatest effectiveness is realized from each member of the organization. To initiate and be willing to change occasionally the formal pattern of interrelationships calls for a special kind of administrative competency, and is based upon a thorough analysis of both the job to be done and the persons who make up the administrative unit.

LINE AND STAFF ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION IN MONROE, WASHINGTON

Del G. Peterson

A LINE and staff form of administrative organization, providing all certified and classified employees of School District #402, Monroe, Wash., with an understanding of their basic responsibilities and duties was adopted by the district's board of education last year. A chart was prepared showing the line-staff organization, and by means of an overhead projector, it was presented to the entire staff and other employees by Superintendent Del G. Peterson.

The basic establishment of a line and staff form of administration should not discourage the very important and often more effective informal lines of communication which evolve in the day-to-day give-and-take of administrative organization. It was pointed out that the new procedure was not to restrict initiative or divergent thinking on the part of the employees.

LINE TITLES

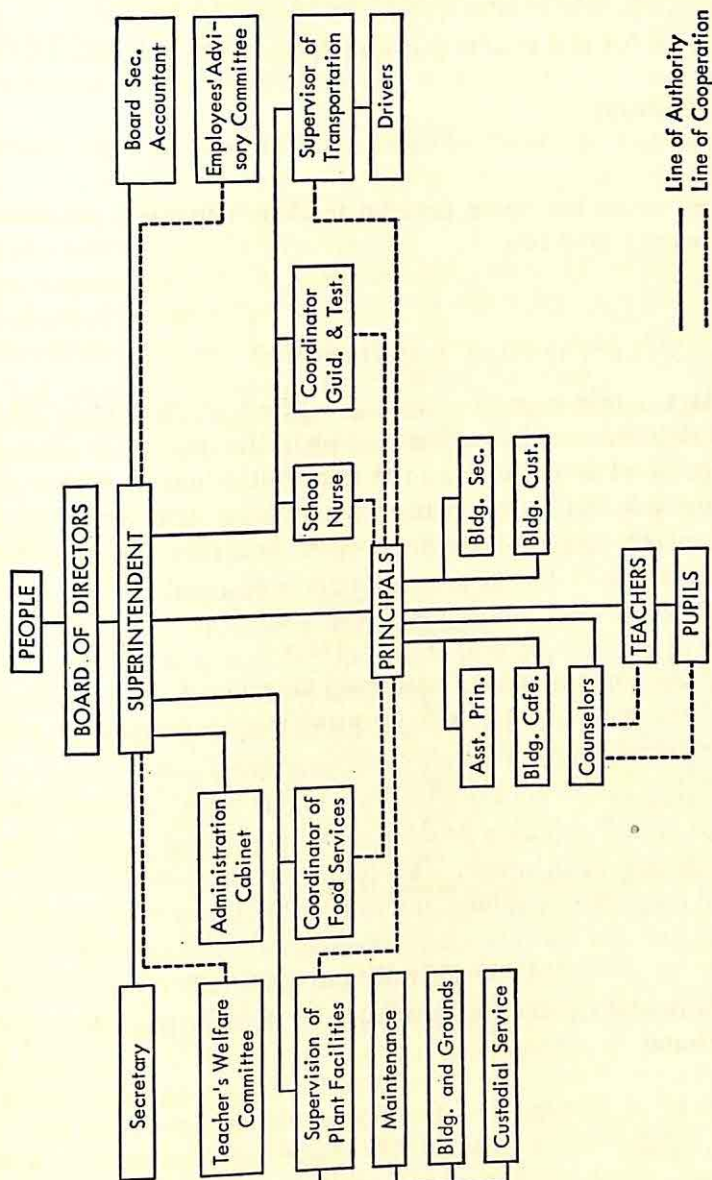
Line titles are superintendent, principals, supervisors, and teachers. These positions have the authority and responsibility for putting programs into operation and carrying them out.

The staff position is responsible to a position which has line authority. The staff authority is based upon professional know-how, and this position acts in the role of coordinator, specialist, stimulator. Frequently the people in staff positions are referred to as idea persons.

ADMINISTRATIVE CABINET

The administrative cabinet is composed of the superintendent, principals, and coordinator of guidance and testing. The weekly cabinet meeting keeps the lines of communication open between the schools and the superintendent by recommending, defining, and clarifying administrative procedures.

Elected representatives from cafeteria employees, bus drivers, plant facilities division, school secretaries, and teachers comprise the employees' advisory committee which meets quarterly to discuss major policy matters that would effect personnel in all divisions of the district.



TEACHER WELFARE COMMITTEE

The teacher welfare committee is composed of elected representatives from each school in the district and the president of the local education association. The major objectives of the committee are:

1. To strive for and maintain a high level of staff morale;
2. To provide for awareness by the administrator of the district-wide difficulties of teachers;
3. To establish an attitude of equal status for teachers regardless of grade level taught;
4. To act as an interagent between teachers and the administration for the clarification of problems.

ARE ADMINISTRATORS CONSISTENT?

One plays a role according to his concept of that role. This "self-concept" determines the activities which the person in the position will engage in while performing the role. But others may have concepts of the same role, and these concepts may be widely varied. When the role concept of others is congruent with the role concept of the administrator, there is less opportunity for role conflict. For example, if the people of a community see their school principal's role as that of a strict disciplinarian, and the principal sees it in the same way, the likelihood of role conflict is considerably reduced. But when they see him as a disciplinarian, and he sees himself as a permissive, democratic type, the likelihood of role conflict is considerably heightened.

In the absence of communications about roles, administrators may be assessed as authoritarian or democratic according to their consistency or inconsistency in behavior. The following study was concerned with the logical consistency, values, and authoritarianism of a selected sample of public school superintendents in a Southern state. It reveals that there may be a clash between role and personality on the one hand, and fundamental beliefs and philosophies held by the administrator on the other hand.

LOGICAL CONSISTENCY, VALUES, AND AUTHORITARIANISM IN A SAMPLE OF PUBLIC SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS

George L. Newsome, Jr. and Harold W. Gentry

A NUMBER of studies of the role, function, or behavior of public school administrators suggest that they tend to be confused as to their role and function, logically inconsistent in thought and action, and somewhat authoritarian.¹ Coladarci and Getzels, writing of educators in general, described them as follows:²

... the educator has not been clear about the function of theory in the conduct of practice and has tended to hold and perpetuate conceptions of the theory-practice relationship that are not insight-producing and logically inadequate.

These same authors found some of the chief difficulties in theory development in administration to be:³ (1) a commitment to "factualism," (2) unwarranted respect for authority of experts and laws, (3) a fear of theorizing, (4) an inadequate professional language, and (5) a frequent tendency to become emotionally identified with one's own view.

In a study of effective school superintendencies, Wilson found that 42.30 per cent of the administrative tasks were performed in a manner other than democratic.⁴ Wilson concluded from the study of superintendencies that "... administrative personnel ... appear to exhibit behavior character-

¹ Gross, Neal; Mason, Ward S.; and McEachern, Alexander W. *Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958. Gross, Neal. *Who Runs Our Schools?* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958. Getzels, J. W., and Guba, E. G. "Social Behavior and the Administrative Process." *School Review* 65: 423-441; December 1957. Coladarci, Arthur P., and Getzels, J. W., *The Use of Theory in Educational Administration*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1955. Wilson, Ross H. "A Study of Selected, Effective Superintendencies in East Tennessee." Unpublished doctor of education dissertation, the University of Tennessee, 1956.

² Coladarci and Getzels, *op. cit.* p. 2.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 10-14. The five characteristics are similar to some of the recognized features of authoritarianism. For example, see Adorno, T. W., and others. *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950; and Webster, Harold; Stanford, Nevitt; and Freedman, Mervin. "A New Instrument for Studying Authoritarianism in Personality." *Journal of Psychology* 40: 73-84, 1955.

⁴ Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 122.

ized by a high degree of inconsistency." ⁵ Finally, Wilson concluded that ". . . the development and employment of an objective, comprehensive, and consistent philosophical point of view, is the most desirable way to bring about a more democratic climate." ⁶

Whether it is desirable for public school administrators to be logically consistent in thought and action, to possess a consistent system of values, to value theory more than power and expediency, or to be nonauthoritarian is probably open to question. For example, it has been found that in some working situations the more aggressive, more masculine, and the more autocratic individuals proved to be the more effective leaders, although supervisors tend to rate such individuals low in leadership qualities. ⁷ On the other hand, some of the authorities in school administration believe that attention to theory, logical consistency, explicit and consistent value systems, and nonauthoritarianism are fundamentals of a competency pattern in educational administration. ⁸ If this competency pattern be accepted, then many of the findings and conclusions from studies of administrators do not compare favorably with the pattern.

If school administrators do not compare favorably with the competency pattern, some questions need to be asked. Are school administrators logically inconsistent with regard to their basic ideas about education? Are school administrators authoritarian because of the role imposed upon them by the line-staff system, or are they basically authoritarian in personality? ⁹ If administrators are fearful of theory and committed to factualism, then to what values do they subscribe? If administrators need an objective, comprehensive, and consistent point of view (philosophy), wherein do they fall short? Questions of this sort obviously cannot be answered by a few limited researches. Furthermore, research into questions of this kind is still inconclusive, in some cases largely speculative, and more often concerned with overt behavior than with cognitive and personality aspects of the problem.

THE PROBLEM

From previous research it appears that many of the major questions concerning theory in school administration can be answered only by research into the relationships among role, personality, and conceptual understandings of administrators. There is need, however, for more limited research into

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 122.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 123.

⁷ Carter, Launer, and Nixon, Mary. "Ability, Perceptual, Personality, and Interest Factors Associated with Different Criteria of Leadership." *Journal of Psychology* 27: 377-388; 1949.

⁸ Graff, Orin B., and Street, Calvin M. *Improving Competence in Educational Administration*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956; chapters 3 and 4. Campbell, Roald F., and Gregg, Russell T., editors. *Administrative Behavior in Education*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957; chapters 4, 5, and 10.

⁹ Getzels, J. W., and Guba, E. G., *op. cit.*, have offered a very interesting theory of the relationship of role to personality in administration.

the relations that exist between cognitive awareness (especially logical consistency) and such personality factors as authoritarianism and values. This paper is concerned with the results of a research project dealing with the logical consistency, values, and authoritarianism of a selected sample of public school superintendents in a southern state. In order to form testable hypotheses concerning these relationships, certain assumptions were made.

1. It was assumed that the values of logical consistency of basic ideas about education, nonauthoritarianism in personality, and an appreciation of theory are values desired in public school superintendents.
2. It was assumed that the instruments used to measure the several relationships were valid and reliable.
3. It was assumed that the sample of superintendents (46, or 23.11 per cent, of all superintendents in the state) was representative.

PROCEDURES

The sample group of forty-six superintendents was enrolled in a field course in school administration sponsored by the College of Education of the University of Georgia. The group of superintendents varied in age, experience, and education. Three had less than a college education, twenty-three held bachelor's degrees, and twenty master's degrees. Some were elected to office by popular vote, and some were appointed by boards of education. Some were county superintendents, and some were city superintendents. The sample group represented all parts of the state.

Three instruments were administered to the sample group: the G. N. C. Scale, an instrument designed to measure logical consistency of basic ideas about education; the W. S. F. Scale, an improved version of the F Scale designed to measure authoritarianism in personality; and the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey *Studies of Values* (revised edition, 1951). The G. N. C. and W. S. F. Scales were administered to the group as a whole on the same day. The *Study of Values* was administered to the sample group later on an individual basis.

The G. N. C. Scale consists of 100 items, fifty rationalistic and fifty empirical philosophical statements about education.¹⁰ The statements are sorted by the Q-sort technique in terms of most ideal and least ideal. The sort may be scored in two different ways to reveal two different kinds of logical consistency. Since the 100 cards contain two sets of contradictory statements, any sort may be scored in terms of *internal* logical consistency regardless of which statements are judged most ideal or least ideal by the sorter. When scored by this method, a maximum score of 100 is theoretically possible in a perfect dichotomization of the 100 cards. Furthermore, the sort, when scored

¹⁰ Rationalistic statements are those associated with the more traditional philosophies based upon intuitive, a priori, and speculative knowledge and the empirical statements are those represented by modern philosophies based upon observation and experience. For the rationale and other information concerning the scale, see Gowin, D. B.; Newsome, G. L.; and Chandler, K. A. "A Scale to Study Logical Consistency of Ideas About Education." *Journal of Psychology* 51: 443-455; 1961.

in this way, may be treated by the chi-square technique (four-fold tables, one degree of freedom) to determine the degree to which the sort differs from a chance sort. The second method of scoring forces the sorter to sort the cards into ten gradations from the most ideal to least ideal. The sort then is dichotomized and the fifth or middle category (in-between or undecided) is discarded. The 76 remaining cards are scored by comparison with an expert sort. This second method of scoring is a measure of *external* logical consistency as judged against experts.

These two methods of scoring might, in certain cases, be virtually identical or, in other cases, radically different. For example, one might be both internally and externally inconsistent, yet tend strongly in the direction of the experts. With a group of prospective college teachers an internal-external correlation of .98 was found, but the mean external consistency score was only 47.2.¹¹ On the other hand, a staunch adherent to the classical philosophical tradition could theoretically make an *internal consistency* score of 100 and an *external consistency* score of 0.

The W. S. F. Scale consists of 149 items scored on a true-false basis. The scale was designed to measure authoritarianism in personality.¹² Hence, it is more personality centered and less ideologically centered than its older predecessor, the F-Scale. The scale was based upon the major personality traits which have been identified by many researches into authoritarianism.

The Allport-Vernon-Lindzey *Study of Values* (revised edition) was selected because it was a useful instrument for measuring values, especially theoretical, economic, political, and religious values. The validity of the several subtests, with the possible exception of the social, seems adequate even though one might seriously question the Spranger Theory of Types upon which the Study was built. The reliability of the subtests, with the exception of the social subtest, appears to be high enough.¹³ In general, the *Study of Values* may be regarded as a fairly valid, reliable, and useful instrument.¹⁴ It should be noted, however, that the Study does not reveal knowledge or understanding of the several things which one might value, but only an assignment of value to them. For example, if one scores high in theoretical value, the score reveals only that one places a high value on the search for truth, not that he has knowledge of theories or understands methods of inquiry.

By statistical treatment of test scores, the following hypotheses were tested:

1. The selected sample of public school superintendents would be both internally and externally logically inconsistent in their basic ideas about education as measured by the G. N. C. Scale.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 142.

¹² For the scale, its rationale, and other information, see Webster, Harold; Sanford, Nevitt; and Freedman, Mervin. "A New Instrument for Studying Authoritarianism in Personality." *Journal of Psychology* 40: 73-84; 1955.

¹³ Allport, Gordon W.; Vernon, Philip E.; and Lindzey, Gardner. *Study of Values: Manual of Directions*. Revised edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951, pp. 7-8.

¹⁴ Buros, Oscar Krisan, editor. *The Fourth Mental Measurements Yearbook*. Highland Park, New Jersey: The Gryphon Press, 1953, pp. 92-93.

that high authoritarian scores would be found in a sample of southern people.¹⁷ The data support to some extent hypothesis 2. In the sample, superintendents are more authoritarian in personality than prospective college teachers and less authoritarian than some of their female elementary teachers.¹⁸

The sample of superintendents as a group was about average for the various norms for the *Study of Values*. Assuming a score of 40 to be about average for all subtests,¹⁹ the sample group was clustered about this average for fifty per cent of all scores. The sample group was slightly lower than the norm group of graduate men in education on theoretical value, but not significantly so ($T = 1.62$, $P = \text{NS}$), and slightly higher on political value ($T = 1.30$, $P = \text{NS}$). The sample group was significantly higher than the norm group for graduate men on economic value ($T = 6.10$, $P = .01$). They were significantly lower than the norm group of graduate men students in education on aesthetic value ($T = 7.83$, $P = .01$) and significantly lower on social values ($T = 6.37$, $P = .01$). The sample group was significantly higher in religious value ($T = 7.82$, $P = .01$) than the norm group of graduate men in education. These data fail to support the hypothesis of a low theoretical score but strongly support the prediction of high scores in economic and religious values. The data do not support the predicted high score in political value.

TABLE 1
Comparison of Test Scores with Norms

INSTRUMENTS	SAMPLE N = 46		NORM * N = 68		T (CR)	P
	M		M			
Study of Values						
Theoretical	42.13	5.90	44.31	8.30	1.62	NS
Economic	44.83	5.13	37.14	8.29	6.10	.01
Aesthetic	31.54	7.23	43.76	9.34	7.83	.01
Social	34.65	4.93	41.98	7.27	6.37	.01
Political	40.74	6.31	39.17	6.22	1.30	NS
Religious	46.15	6.37	33.64	10.63	7.82	.01

* Graduate Students of Education (Male) from *Study of Values: Manual of Directions*, p. 10.

The data in Table 2 strongly support the hypothesis that logical consistency would be inversely related to authoritarianism in personality. The data, however, fail to support the hypothesis that logical consistency would be related

¹⁷ Prothro, E. Terry. "Ethnocentrism and Anti-Negro Attitude in the Deep South." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 47: 105-108, 1952; Webster, Harold, and others, *op. cit.* pp. 73-84.

¹⁸ McGee, Henry Morrison. "The Measurement of Authoritarianism and Its Relation to Teachers' Classroom Behavior." *Genetic Psychology Monographs* 52: 89-146; 1955. This study found women teachers to be significantly more authoritarian than men teachers.

¹⁹ Allport *et al*, *op. cit.* p. 9.

to theoretical value. The correlation is in the predicted direction but insignificant. The hypothesis that authoritarianism in personality would be directly

TABLE 2
Correlations of Test Scores

	WSF	STUDY OF VALUES					
		THEO- RETICAL	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	SOCIAL	POLIT- ICAL	RELIGIOUS
GNC	— .426 †	.1015	— .322 *	.016	.124	.053	.0005
WSF		— .145	.189	— .006	— .162	.251	.200

* P .05

† P .01

related to economic (practical) and political (power) values is not substantiated by the data. Both correlations are in the predicted direction, the first not statistically significant and the second significant at the .1 level of confidence. The hypothesized relation of authoritarianism to religious value is in the predicted direction but not statistically significant.

The relation of logical consistency to economic (practical) value was substantiated as hypothesized; namely, that logical consistency would be inversely related to economic value. The hypothesis that logical consistency would be related inversely to political (power) value and religious value was not supported by the data.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Though the superintendents as a group are logically inconsistent (internally and externally) in their basic ideas about education, nearly 40 per cent are logically consistent. The charge that superintendents are logically inconsistent is, on the whole, true though a considerable portion are consistent.
2. The charge of authoritarianism on the part of superintendents appears to be relatively true. They are more authoritarian than a selected sample of college teachers but less authoritarian than a sample of female elementary teachers.
3. The superintendents valued theory about as much as most male graduate students in education. Apparently, they respect and appreciate the search for truth. The fact that they respect the search for truth does not indicate, however, that they are themselves willing or able to theorize or inquire.
4. The relationship of logical consistency of basic educational ideas and authoritarianism in personality was found to be negative and significant. This relationship suggests a clash between role and personality on one hand, and fundamental beliefs or philosophy on the other. It suggests

in particular that philosophical inconsistency is related to authoritarianism, and conversely, that philosophical consistency is related to nonauthoritarianism.

5. The superintendents in this sample rank significantly lower in aesthetic and social values than the norm group of graduate men in education and significantly higher in economic and religious values. The degree to which this is a social and cultural phenomenon, an educational "blind spot," or a personality trait needs to be determined by empirical research.
6. The sample group of superintendents is very near the norm for graduate students in education on political value (40.74 compared to a norm of 39.17). However, their political value scores correlated with authoritarianism in personality (W. S. F.) ($r = .251$) beyond the .1 level of confidence. This relationship suggests that, while the superintendents value political power (political value being defined in the *Study of Values* as "power"), they tend to associate power with authoritarian personalities.

WHAT IS THE SUPERINTENDENT'S ROLE?

One plays a role best when the role is well defined, and where there is little doubt about the impression one is to create. The role of the superintendent of schools, however, is complicated by the wide variety of expectations which people have of the role and the different kinds of communities in which superintendents work. The following selection highlights this problem.

THE SUPERINTENDENT'S JOB CAN BE WELL-DEFINED

Paul J. Misner

JAMES B. CONANT's proposal that school boards should be free to ignore specialized preparation and training on the part of candidates for general superintendent of schools reveals a disturbing lack of appreciation of recent developments in the field of public school administration.

In an address to the recent convention of the American Association of School Administrators in Atlantic City, Dr. Conant had the following to say about the appointment of superintendents by boards of education:

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"Unlike that of teachers, but like [that of] college presidents, the superintendent's job cannot be well-defined; what the superintendent is called on to do in one type of community bears little resemblance to what he is called on to do in another. The size of the undertaking varies enormously for one thing. Furthermore, the problems of one period are not those of another. A man may make a good president, for example, in one period and be quite unsuitable in another. And I must confess to the greatest skepticism as to the claim by formal instruction [that] an understanding of general principles of administration can be developed which are applicable in all situations. In my experience what some school superintendents have lacked cannot be provided by any amount of course taking. The first is backbone; the second is a wide acquaintance with the culture of the modern world. . . . Certification of superintendents based on course requirements is so clearly meaningless that many members of this association have raised doubts about it."

COMPETENCIES IDENTIFIED

For 15 years the A.A.S.A. has been engaged in a comprehensive nationwide effort to improve school administration in the United States. Studies have been made seeking to identify the specialized skills, knowledges, and competencies that are essential to effective educational leadership. Many of us do not agree with Dr. Conant that "the superintendent's job cannot be well-defined."

We believe that it can be well-defined and the identifiable characteristics of an effective educational leader can be made the basis for discriminating recruitment and selection of those individuals who should be encouraged to prepare for positions of educational leadership. Nor can we agree that it is impossible to identify the specialized competencies that are essential to effective leadership on the part of college and university presidents. There is considerable experience to suggest that many colleges and universities throughout the country have suffered severely from inept and inadequately trained administrators. As the needs for specialized training of administrators have been identified, leading colleges and universities have been developing graduate programs designed for better preparation of both prospective and practicing school administrators for the new dimensions of leadership with which they are confronted. Basically these programs are being developed to provide the school administrator with a wide acquaintance of the culture of the modern world to which Dr. Conant attaches such major importance.

These efforts to improve school administration have received the enthusiastic interest and support of school board associations, chief state school officials, college and university leaders as well as the association of school administrators throughout the nation. There is general agreement with Dr. Conant that the certification of superintendents based on course requirements is meaningless. We do not agree that certification based on properly accredited programs is either undesirable or impossible.

If the only functions of the general superintendent of schools were to raise

money, organize and administer food and transportation services, and to plan, build and operate school buildings, the Conant proposal might have some merit. If, however, the superintendent of schools is to be an educational leader, a perceptive student of social forces and social change, and an interpreter of education in a democratic society, then Dr. Conant's proposal should be seriously questioned. It is difficult to accept the thesis that a successful engineer, lawyer or doctor with great courage and a wide acquaintance with the culture of the modern world can function effectively as an educational leader. Preparation for these professions hardly qualifies an individual to play the strategic role of a broker of both public and professional interests—the role so effectively described by Dr. Conant.

HEALTHY SKEPTICISM

All of us in public education are indebted greatly to Dr. Conant for his many distinguished contributions to the nation's schools and colleges. We must recognize, however, that no single individual can speak with authority on all of the many complex problems of education. With respect to the present issue administrators need to maintain an attitude of healthy skepticism.

ROLE CONCEPTS AMONG ADMINISTRATORS

Do principals and superintendents agree on the role of the school superintendent? Is the role of the school superintendent that of an educational leader, rather than a building planner, financial expert, or budget maker? These questions were asked by the researcher in the study which is explained in the following selection.

HOW PRINCIPALS PERCEIVE THEIR SUPERINTENDENTS

G. P. Nimnicht

IS A SUPERINTENDENT a person who is primarily interested in site selection, building programs, and the financial operation of a school district? This stereotype could be drawn from the results of recent interviews with 121 principals in twenty-three school districts in the San Francisco Bay area.

As a part of a research study, the author interviewed twenty-three superintendents and four to six principals working under each superintendent. The

SOURCE: From the *Phi Delta Kappan*, November 1959, pp. 65 and 66. Reprinted by permission of the *Phi Delta Kappan*.

purpose of the study was to discover behavioral characteristics of successful superintendents. Since the position of superintendent of schools is a leadership position, the assumption was made that the most successful administrators would demonstrate the greatest amount of leadership ability. Therefore, a part of the research was devoted to selecting those superintendents who were the most effective leaders. For the purpose of this research, the writer postulated that leaders know where they are going and that they take followers in the same direction. It was reasoned that if the superintendent functioned as a leader, his subordinates would be able to name the accomplishments the superintendent considered important and, furthermore, the subordinate themselves would consider these same accomplishments important. Therefore, as a part of the process in selecting those superintendents with the most leadership ability, the superintendents were asked, "What would you list as your most outstanding accomplishments in this district in the past four or five years?"

Subsequently, their principals were asked, "What would you consider the outstanding accomplishments in this district in the last four or five years?" and, "How do you think your superintendent would answer this same question?" The first question asked the principals was designed to discover the extent of agreement between the superintendent and his principals on what they considered the most important accomplishments. The second question was asked to determine the degree to which the principals correctly perceived the superintendent's appraisal of his accomplishments, regardless of the importance the principal himself might attach to the accomplishments.

Although the questions served the purpose of helping to identify the most outstanding leaders, the results were not what had been anticipated. The expectation had been that the principals would name more items which agreed with the superintendent's answer when they responded to the second question than they had named when speaking for themselves. It was reasoned that in responding to the first question principals would list the accomplishments they considered important. In answering the second question, they would repeat those items and add others which the superintendent would consider important.

In actuality, the principals gave more responses on the first question than on the second, and there was greater agreement between the accomplishments listed by the superintendent and the accomplishments listed by the principals when they were speaking for themselves than when they were answering as they thought the superintendent would respond.

Some of the principals said: "When I think of my superintendent, I think of site selection and building programs." "If what he talks about is indicative, my superintendent is concerned with the building program, budgeting, and finance." "My superintendent is not particularly interested in curriculum developments or the educational program." Such remarks as these followed interviews in which the superintendent had listed a wide variety of accomplishments covering most of the aspects of the educational program.

The implication is that even the people who work closely with some of

the superintendents interviewed see these superintendents as building planners, financial experts, or budget makers. This certainly does not agree with the ideal of the superintendent as an educational leader whose major responsibility is the improvement of the instructional program. It seems safe to assume that if these men appear thus to their immediate subordinates, they will present the same image to the teaching staff and the public in general. In such a case, the effectiveness of the superintendent as an educational leader is impaired, because people do not expect the leadership to come from him; therefore they do not turn to him for such leadership.

If this analysis is correct, it is important not only to understand the causes for the faulty perceptions of a superintendent by his subordinates, but also to know what remedial action must be taken to correct such impressions.

In two or three cases such a description is fairly accurate—the superintendent's interests and efforts are restricted to the business management of the school district. In a large majority of the cases, however, the impression is not accurate. The causes seem to be varied, but they probably arise chiefly from poor communications.

In most of the districts, the administrative staff had not discussed objectives nor evaluated past accomplishments. In many instances, the fact that they could name several real accomplishments came as a surprise to the interviewers. This probably would not be the case if the superintendents and their staffs periodically reviewed the accomplishments in their districts and discussed future objectives.

In some cases, the superintendents spend too much time discussing bond issues, building programs, and finance and not enough time discussing curriculum development and the educational program. They have not presented true pictures of their concerns through balanced presentation of views.

In a few instances, the superintendents play the role of the doubter who has to be convinced before a change can be made. That is, they force the subordinates to "sell" them on a proposal before they will consent to the change. In playing this role, they cause subordinates to question their interest and, sometimes, even their understanding of the problems involved. This role must be played enough in the normal sequence of events without extending its use as a technique of forcing a subordinate to defend his suggested changes.

In all of the above instances of poor communications, the superintendents have overlooked the importance of self-evaluation. In their role as superintendent, they must be able to evaluate their own activities in the context of the type of image they are creating and the type of image they would like to create. If a superintendent is going to fill the role of the educational leader, the group that works closest with him will have to see him in a broader perspective than as an expert in buildings and finance. In order for the principals to form a broader image, that image must be created by the superintendent himself. An awareness of the problem is, in itself, part of the solution.

THE PRINCIPALSHIP ROLE

Public schools were highly centralized until the rise of a competent, well-trained principalship corps permitted central school offices to "turn the schools over to the principals." With some exceptions, the present school system is decentralized; that is, the central school administrative office maintains only the controls necessary to provide uniformity, guidance, and broad policy implementation. For the main part, the building principal is the key person in public school administration today. The following selection relates the steps by which this change of role came to pass.

THE PRINCIPALSHIP: ITS CHANGING ROLE

John S. Benben

THE RESPONSIBILITIES of the school principal deserve close scrutiny. Although the principalship is the key position in educational administration, the importance of this post has been overlooked. An intense re-examination of this office may serve as a forerunner of a new definition of the principal's responsibilities.

For many decades, the principal's duties were primarily clerical. He kept records of attendance and marks, saw that the rooms were clean, distributed classroom supplies, and rang the bell. The early principal had no direct relationship with the school trustees.

Because boards of education clung to direct control of their schools, the principal's administrative authority advanced slowly. By 1837, when the office of school superintendent appeared, principals were beginning to move into administration.

The board and the superintendent became increasingly aware that the principal should have more direct control over his school. As a result, there was a shift of emphasis in his responsibilities. By 1900 the principal's duties covered not only discipline and care of the pupils, care and distribution of equipment and supplies, recording and reporting, but also organization and general management, and supervision of maintenance of buildings and grounds.¹

¹ Pierce, Paul R. *The Origin and Development of the Public School Principalship*, pp. 210-11. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935.

THE PRINCIPAL ENTERS SUPERVISION

The new superintendent, meanwhile, soon found himself inundated with the problems in the school district and began casting about for assistance with his troubles. He found that he was unable to supervise instruction in the entire system, and, to lighten this chore, he persuaded the board to release the principal part time from teaching to supervise his staff.

In this period the superintendent was trying to set a standard instructional program in the district. But finding his span of control too broad to assure proper application of his policies, he introduced two new positions: first the position of assistant superintendent and shortly afterward the position of supervisor. The interposition of these two offices further widened the gap between the principal and the superintendent.

Two opinions developed regarding the role of the supervisor. Some believed that the supervisor should directly oversee the instructional program. Others believed that the supervisor should work with the principal and assist him in building a school program in accord with local needs.

Before World War I, however, the supervisor strengthened his hold on the instructional program and, because of the tie with the central office, slowly took over the entire task. Eventually the supervisor became a quasi-administrative officer and left only the clerical, teaching, and disciplinary duties with the principal.

In time the relationship between the superintendent and the principal became fuzzy, a condition that continues to exist. Before 1930 the principal's duties were innumerable, and he was doing everything but what is now believed he should be doing.

AN OUTLINE EMERGES

By 1930 the principal still had many duties, but they could be divided into broad categories that helped dispel some of the fuzziness about his proper place in educational administration. By the thirties the principal was spending most of his time on administration, supervision, clerical duties, and an assortment of other responsibilities.

Several factors brought a change and helped the principalship move toward greater executive freedom. Two of these factors were better prepared teachers and better prepared principals. The third was a changing philosophy of supervision, expressed in a shift from an impersonal attitude toward the teacher's work to a personal, intimate, helpful, and more tactful approach to the teacher and her problems. Also, more stress was placed on giving the principal and his teachers freedom to solve their own difficulties.

Time-distribution studies made between 1925 and 1930 showed a change in the principal's major functions: the principal now had authority over administration and supervision, the two most important administrative functions in his attendance area.

THE PRINCIPALSHIP TODAY

However regretfully, the fact must be acknowledged that since 1930 the principalship has not moved ahead very much. Today the principal's duties remain much the same as they were three decades ago. The following table² shows the portion of time principals have devoted to various categories of responsibilities:

TYPE OF FUNCTION	YEAR OF STUDY		
	1928	1948	1958
Administration	30%	29%	30%
Supervision	34	39	35
Clerical work	18	15	14
Teaching	4	2	3
Other	14	15	18
Total	100%	100%	100%

The principal has made some gains with supervision reaping the greatest benefit. Supervision has moved ahead of administration, and there is an indication that the trend is still toward establishing supervision of instruction as the primary task of the principalship, with general administration a close second.

Not all forces are moving the principalship toward supervision of instruction, however. During the past half-century the superintendent has been slowly emerging as the chief executive officer of the school district, and the accompanying release from the detail of his job has permitted him a broader view of the educational task. He has begun to see the principalship in proper perspective and has begun moving him from the classroom. Although this phase is not complete, the principalship is seating itself more securely as an administrative post.

FREE THE PRINCIPAL FOR SUPERVISION

Contemporary writers on educational administration have been concerned about the principal's increasing burden of duties in organization and management. They are apprehensive of this shift and firm in their emphasis on supervision as the primary function of the principal.

Studies from 1939 to the present give evidence that organization and management are taking up to 40 per cent of the principal's time. Students of educational administration would like to see a good portion of this time given to the improvement of instruction.

Yet little progress in this direction can be made unless the principal is fully relieved of clerical duties.

² *The Elementary School Principalship*, Thirty-seventh Yearbook, Department of Elementary School Principals (Washington: National Education Association, 1958), p. 100. Reprinted by permission.

The studies in the 1920's reported that most schools enrolling fewer than two hundred pupils lacked clerical service; by 1948, however, more clerks were employed in the schools. Actually the advancement of both the superintendent and the principal is retarded by inadequate clerical assistance.

But clerical service is not the only remedy, for these studies reveal that the problems of school and instruction that are taking up the administrator's time are not routine office matters but questions that must be handled by an educational officer. To become an effective administrative office, the principalship, like the superintendency, requires the professional assistance that can be given by vice-principals, deans, guidance directors, resource teachers, curriculum co-ordinators, and assistant supervisors.

The change to a more effective role for the principalship in education has been very slow. The transition cannot take place without confidence in the principal who, for his part, must be more courageous and more vigorous in his leadership.

Further, the principalship will never fully blossom in the field of educational administration until the relationship between the board and the superintendent is better defined. Not until the superintendent becomes the chief executive officer of the school district can the principal hope to better his own position. As long as the superintendent is hamstrung by indefinite policies and indefinite authority, more breadth of responsibility and freedom can hardly be expected for the principal.

Throughout the nation the principalship is tightly wrapped in the embrace of what is referred to as the *central office*. The standard instructional program remains in vogue; and the principal, in too many instances, merely follows instructions. He has become an administrative appendage, holding a position like that of a manager and sharing little responsibility for policy or decision-making. He is caught between a multiplicity of unchallenging duties and the need to devote attention to the improvement of instruction.

In some areas of the nation superintendents and boards of education are viewing the principalship as the key to a better educational program. They have recognized that a broad program for the school district is feasible, but the program must be flexible enough to allow for differences in attendance areas. Where the program is flexible, the principal has greater freedom to develop his school as an important agency of the community from which the pupils enrol. In such a program the principal assumes leadership for improving the instructional program in accord with conditions in the area. His leadership extends beyond the school, making it an integral part of the community.

TURNING POINT

Today the superintendent is in the throes of deciding whether to continue as a manager or to step out as an educational leader in the whole community. The principal is in a similar predicament, for his behavior in the coming

years will determine whether he will exercise leadership or continue to strengthen the managerial aspect of his role.

Should the superintendency become managerial in character, the likelihood is that the principalship will continue as at present, exerting little influence in education. Should the superintendency develop for educational leadership, the probability is that the principalship will be liberated to take a course dictated by the needs of the attendance areas.

There is little doubt as to which course the new educational leader, viewing the whole educational picture, prefers. The graded program has begun to fracture, and the view through the cracks quickens the pulse of the principals who are fretful under the present limitations of their authority.

These principals along with some superintendents envision a school system that has quasi-autonomous local schools, each one under the direction and leadership of a principal who works directly with the superintendent. Each principal and his staff would have as much latitude as they think they need in which to work, and the breadth and depth of their labor would be measured by the goals they set themselves and achieve with their communities.

All the principals in the district would work closely with one another on the problems in the school system and in each attendance area. They would meet frequently in groups and as individual officers, with the superintendent, to discuss all educational affairs of the school district.

The new superintendent sees himself delegating large amounts of responsibility and power to the principal, giving him the satisfaction of conceiving and carrying out ideas. This type of superintendent sees continuity in the responsibility given the principal and allows for satisfaction in the task of permitting the principal to see the fruit of his work and take pride in its success or blame for its failure.

This type of superintendent also realizes that he must appoint only candidates who have built their preparation for their work on a strong fundamental education made up of many disciplines. In other words, he believes that he must accept only applicants who are educated and who have proved themselves master teachers before they undertake the study of educational administration.

TOWARD A NEW DEFINITION

The definition of the task of the principalship is most commonly derived from its duties. Since 1930 the duties of the principal have remained more or less static. Administration, supervision, clerical, and miscellaneous duties take up most of the principal's time. It must be kept in mind, however, that these duties were imposed by the superintendency to relieve itself of some of its burden. Into what these duties may be fused awaits the clearer definition of the superintendent's office. Once his position has been defined, the limits set on the principalship will be removed, thereby allowing it to develop from the nature of its task.

It is important to recognize that the school district is made up of attendance areas. The responsibility of the superintendent of schools extends across the district, which was organized into attendance areas to make the administration of education easier and more efficient. These areas have communal individualities of their own but no educational individualities, for, immersed in the districts, they have had little opportunity to unfold as educational individualities. The definition of the principal's task should grow out of the characteristics of the area served. Understandably definitions will differ from one attendance area to another.

The superintendency is a district-wide task that is co-ordinative, integrative, and directive in nature, and the principalship fits within it, performing similarly in its own areas, but with strong regard to the makeup and needs of its neighborhood.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Discuss the concept of role as it applies to the school administrator. What is the place of each of these in the concept: (a) self-concept; (b) superordinate concept; (c) subordinate concept; (d) peer concept; and (e) public concept of administrative role?
2. Is role related to behavior more than to the possession of certain "administrative" traits? Explain your answer.
3. Through the medium of role-playing, develop some basic concepts in school administration. Imagine that each member of the class is one of the characters. Develop a short skit which illustrates the importance of communication in school administration, the desirability of close working relationships within the faculty, or the need for a public relations plan for the school.
4. What is the place of role-playing in the development of school administrators? Can these basic concepts not be learned through (a) actual experience on the job; (b) the internship; (c) visits to a school district?
5. Report on the basic role studies included in the bibliography at the end of this chapter, such as those by Neal Gross and Stanley Hetzler. What seems to be the central role of the administrator as you see it from these and other studies?

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CHAPTER 10

Administrative Behavior

WHAT IS ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR?

We have seen in Chapter 5 how early emphasis was placed on the importance of certain traits in the makeup of the school superintendent. Under personal qualities necessary, Cubberley * listed cleanliness, both in person and mind; temperance, both in speech and act; and honesty and a good sense of humor, among other traits. There are numerous lists of these traits, no two of which are alike. In traitist psychology, emphasis is upon the nouns instead of the verbs in describing the school administrator.

Now it is apparent that major emphasis may be shifting to what the administrator does, that is, to the verbs, in describing effective administrative behavior. This section deals with this approach.

The first selection is about the subject of the questioning attitude of the school administrator. The author, a leading superintendent of schools, seeks to find out whether school administrators ask themselves the right questions. He then poses the questions he feels are pertinent to the superintendent, and he deals with them in the remainder of the selection.

* Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public School Administration* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), Ch. XIV, The Superintendent of Schools.

THE SUPERINTENDENT'S QUESTIONS

Robert S. Gilchrist

AS A SUPERINTENDENT I would do well to ask myself some searching questions before interrogating others. What we do speaks louder than *what we say*. Principals, teachers, Board members and parents will not be impressed by my questions unless they sense that I am trying to exemplify the soundest possible answers to these queries in my own behavior.

Do I ask questions and also take time to listen to the answers? Do my questions show that I am concerned about boys and girls and the learning environment the schools provide for them? Or do the questions I ask suggest that my chief concern is with keeping parents satisfied on a superficial basis, saving money regardless of educational consequences, and maintaining a smoothly operating system without too much concern for the individual?

I am highly in favor of a superintendent exerting leadership through the questions he asks. Of whom should he ask questions? Of teachers, principals, supervisors, Board members, parents and other citizens. All of these groups help to determine the kind of education American children receive. The superintendent should ask himself, "As chief of the staff and executive officer of the Board, what can I do to help these groups settle for nothing less than the best education we can provide for our children?" A comforting thought for the superintendent is that he does not need to have a different set of questions for each group. In fact, if he is going to exercise effective leadership he can well ask the same questions of various groups and thus develop a consensus on the problems and issues facing American education.

1. The First Question Might Be: Do We Really Believe in Asking Questions?

I am afraid that many of us do not ever ask many important questions. We would rather people would just fit their ideas into our scheme of things. Teachers are in charge of children in school as parents are in the home. Principals are "bosses" of the teachers (at least children say so), and the superintendent is "boss" of the principals. The Board of Education is charged by citizens with over-all responsibility for policy. If we are honest we will admit that we like prestige, and if we are not careful we will find ourselves encouraging those we are supposed to lead merely to "yes" us.

SOURCE: Reprinted by permission of the Association for Childhood Education International, 3615 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. "The Superintendent's Questions," by Robert S. Gilchrist. From *Childhood Education*, September 1963, Vol. 40, No. 1.

Again, the reason we do not ask questions may be that we want to be efficient. We like a "well-oiled machine." Sometimes we forget that a school with human beings as its material and product can not be run like a factory. We segment, scrutinize, systematize, thus developing a "drip down" procedure that in no way encourages the asking of questions. I doubt if an adult can ask sincere questions and seek truthful answers and at the same time be an authoritarian personality.

2. What Questions Are Most Basic Concerning America's Schools Today?

If we are trying to do our job well as educators and citizens and really believe in asking questions, we should all be working together to find valid answers—answers to the most fundamental of the questions facing us. We should be asking how we can provide the best possible learning environment consistent with what is known today about child development and the learning process and consistent with the demands of living and the values we hold important in our American way of life.

Specifically, we should want to know answers to many related questions.

Is the current emphasis on individualization sound? We should be ashamed of ourselves for maintaining an inflexible graded structure for so long.¹

How can we keep abreast of the massive curriculum developments affecting education so powerfully? The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development publication, *Using Current Curriculum Developments*, should prove to be a helpful reference in making assessments.

Can we resolve current issues in learning theory so that our classroom practices can be consistent with how learning actually takes place? All of us will have to spend time learning to understand Skinner's theory of reinforcement and the cognitive or perceptual field approach of Combs, Snygg and others. I think we will conclude that the perceptual field approach is completely consistent with our democratic goals and that the reinforcement theory can be used for certain kinds of learning only.

How about readiness for learning? What are the developmental needs of boys and girls? Is the pressure to push subject matter down into the lower grades and to make the curriculum more academic consistent with the needs of human beings as they grow and develop? On this critical problem we must face the fact that we have been letting some youngsters mark time when they could have been doing more difficult work. However, we must accept the idea that education is lifelong² and stop trying to cram so much

¹ John I. Goodlad, "Inadequacy of Graded Organization—What Then?" *Childhood Education*, February 1963, p. 274.

Toward Effective Grouping (Washington, D.C.: Association for Childhood Education International, 1962).

² *Don't Push Me!* (Washington, D.C.: ACEI, 1960).

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Winifred E. Bain, "With Life So Long, Why Shorten Childhood?" *Childhood Education*, September 1961, p. 15.

subject matter into the school curriculum that teachers are forced to treat experiences superficially rather than in depth.

3. How Can Americans Be Brought to Place More Value on the Quality of Schools Than on More Materialistic Aspirations?

I believe the time is ripe for all American citizens to re-examine their value priorities. If all of us could realize that our goal is to develop individuals who are self-educators, who are creative, who are thinkers, who recognize the dignity and worth of human beings, we would be well on our way toward changing our value structure; we would be placing humanistic ahead of materialistic values.

I am hopeful that we as a nation will discover that the perpetuation and strengthening of our American way of life depends on the quality of the education of our youth. We must demand that each individual develop his greatest potential not only for his own success and happiness but to make his greatest contribution to the welfare of his country and the world.

To develop quality schools adequate for these times, we must learn to communicate more effectively with one another. We must recognize that each one at every level in education is working with two groups. We must recognize our responsibility to help these two groups integrate their purposes and focus their concerns on the same basic problems.

Teachers, for example, work with children on the one hand and with principals on the other. Therefore, they have a two-way responsibility: reflecting to the principals the needs of the classroom learning environment and implementing in the classroom the policy decisions communicated to the teacher by the principal.

In a similar manner the principal has a twofold responsibility: interpreting to the superintendent what his staff needs in order to provide the best possible learning environment for pupils and communicating system-wide policy and decisions to his teachers.

The superintendent, as his part in this two-way communication, should certainly make recommendations to the Board that reflect the best thinking of the principals on the needs of the schools for which they are responsible. The superintendent must interpret to the principals the policy decisions of the Board of Education.

The Board of Education has a two-way responsibility: *first*, in determining policy that reflects the aspirations of the community for its schools; *second*, in acting on the superintendent's recommendations in terms of sound policies for developing the best education the community can afford.

4. How Is the Superintendent to Serve Well in His Double Role As Professional Leader of the Staff and Executive Officer of the Board?

Over and above the three questions already dealt with, the superintendent should try through the questions he asks and the resources he makes available to give staff members the information and background they need to

help them understand the point of view of the Board and the citizens of the community. Conversely, he should work hard to help Board and citizens understand the viewpoint of the teachers and staff members. If the superintendent can succeed in this difficult task of building two-way communication, the educational program of the school system can be integrated and brought into focus, with citizens and teachers working for common goals.

The superintendent has yet another job. He must work vigorously with the staff to help make education an increasingly disciplined profession in which staff members assume leadership in developing the best possible program because they are experts in child development, in the learning process and in clarifying curriculum goals. At the same time the superintendent must work aggressively with the Board and the community to insist that there is enough money for the best possible education the staff knows how to develop. We must try to help laymen recognize that we cannot afford to provide education of a lower quality than the best. This is one of the most difficult tasks a superintendent can set for himself—helping citizens to realize that they really have not, as yet, set a very high priority on education. When the financial needs of education receive top consideration and when citizens enthusiastically urge young people with the aptitude to become good teachers and to go into education as a profession—*then* a superintendent will know he has been asking the right questions.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF INSTRUCTION

A principal duty of the school administrator is to improve educational opportunities for school children. This function is known as *supervision*. How an administrator acts in carrying out this responsibility is described in the following selection.

WHAT ADMINISTRATORS DO TO IMPROVE INSTRUCTION

William T. Bush

ONCE HE has established defensible goals for his educational program, the competent administrator is trying constantly to evaluate and improve instructional techniques. How he sets about doing so was the subject of a study conducted recently at the University of Mississippi under sponsorship

SOURCE: From *Phi Delta Kappan*, November 1959, p. 64. Reprinted by permission of the *Phi Delta Kappan*.

of the Kellogg Research Foundation, as part of the Associated Programs in Educational Administration.

Using the Flanagan critical incident technique, the project staff attempted to determine the behavior requirements for competency in specific administrative task areas. The specific task on which we are here reporting was to improve the instructional program. Some 708 selected school administrators throughout the U. S. revealed, in their responses to a questionnaire, the following behavior requirements, listed in order of frequency of citation:

1. Encourage teachers to use a variety of instructional techniques.
2. Involve the staff in formulating an in-service training program.
3. Utilize demonstration teaching to acquaint teachers with various teaching methods (respondents mentioned the following methods: lecture, recitation, laboratory, seminar, and project).
4. Use faculty meetings to discuss ways in which instruction might be improved.
5. Use democratic leadership methods while conducting instructional meetings (respondents stressed the avoidance of administrative domination of the meetings).
6. Conduct research projects in different subject areas and grade levels in an effort to improve instruction.
7. Devise an intra- and inter-visitation program for administrators and teachers.
8. Secure resource personnel to assist in workshops and other instructional meetings.
9. Acquire and administer standardized tests to indicate strong and weak instructional areas and individual differences.
10. Evaluate and follow up instructional workshops, conferences, and demonstrations.
11. Encourage the grouping of students to provide for individual differences.
12. Obtain new equipment to make instruction in specific subject areas more meaningful.
13. Organize orientation programs to assist new teachers.
14. Suggest special instructional projects, such as science fairs, student banking programs, field trips, and job experience programs that will make subjects more life-like and meaningful.
15. Prepare handbooks, guides, and worksheets to assist teachers in improving instruction.
16. Suggest to teachers various methods of dealing with classroom disciplinary problems (respondents mentioned the use of student courts, self discipline, suspension, etc.).
17. Use tact in offering constructive criticism to teachers.
18. Demonstrate to teachers the effective use of audio-visual equipment.
19. Explain new instructional procedures to parents (respondents stated

that this would gain parental support for the instructional program and, therefore, strengthen it).

20. Provide released time for teachers to attend instructional meetings (respondents mentioned the use of substitute teachers, holidays, etc.).
21. Provide more time for classroom instruction by relieving teachers of menial tasks (respondents suggested that menial tasks could be handled by student assistants, full-time administrative secretaries, etc.).
22. Use community facilities and resources.
23. Employ the assistance of the staff in the selection of audio-visual and other instructional equipment.
24. Allot sufficient time for observing and supervising instruction.
25. Arrange extension classes for the professional improvement of the staff.
26. Conduct follow-up studies involving graduates of the institution.
27. Discuss homework assignments with teachers.
28. Encourage the reading of professional articles and books to improve instructional techniques.
29. Encourage the use of lesson plans to improve the instructional program.
30. Follow up classroom visits with teacher conferences.
31. Lengthen class periods to improve instruction (respondents suggested 60-minute periods for secondary classes—30 minutes for recitation and 30 minutes for supervised study).
32. Pay staff members' expenses for attending professional conventions.
33. Prepare and issue agenda prior to instructional meetings.
34. Prepare devices for the evaluation of instructional aids.

The above list can serve, we think, as a partial check list to assist administrators and teachers in the analysis of their own programs for the improvement of instruction—the most manipulatable facet of the educational process.

THE PRINCIPAL'S BEHAVIOR IN IMPROVING INSTRUCTION

The key person in the improvement of instruction is the building principal. However, the following study indicates that parents may have quite a different concept of the principal's role than that of leadership in curriculum and instruction. In the study, teachers and parents alike tended to emphasize the principal's personal relationships with them, with pupils, and with community groups in contrast to the principal's role as the leader of curricular and instructional improvement. Perhaps, in the community included in the study, the improvement of instruction came about indirectly through the activities which characterize the "personal" behavior of the school principal.

TEACHERS AND PARENTS DESCRIBE THE EFFECTIVE PRINCIPAL'S BEHAVIOR

A SCHOOL administrator's performance is evaluated daily by the different individuals and groups with which he has contact. Furthermore, the basis on which his effectiveness is evaluated appears to differ from group to group. Studies of the behavior of elementary school principals, completed in 1954 by Buffington and Medsker in Oakland, California, emphasize this point.¹ The research showed that teachers and parents observe principals in relatively different situations. Because of these differences in the conditions under which they make their observations, they emphasize different aspects of the principal's job in describing what they consider to be effective and ineffective behavior on his part.

Buffington and Medsker attempted to identify some of the job requirements of elementary school principals in Oakland. They have emphasized that they make no claim that the results of their studies would apply in any locality other than Oakland. Furthermore, they point out that the studies were "limited to the behavior of the elementary school principal as observed in situations judged to be critical" and that no attempt was made "to evaluate the principal in terms of general traits or abilities or in terms of a total personality." Despite these limitations, however, the findings of the studies have possible implications for anyone examining closely the job of the administrator.

HOW THE STUDY WAS MADE

Oakland is a city with a 1950 population of 384,575. It has sixty-three elementary schools. Buffington and Medsker selected thirty of these from an alphabetical list of the total number by choosing every other one in the list and conducted their studies among the parents and the teachers in them.

The "critical incident technique" developed by Flanagan and others was used in the studies. In the interviews, parents and teachers were asked to

¹ Reed L. Buffington, "The Job of the Elementary School Principal as Viewed by Parents." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, School of Education, Stanford University, 1954.

Leland L. Medsker, "The Job of the Elementary School Principal as Viewed by Teachers." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, School of Education, Stanford University, 1954.

SOURCE: From the *Administrator's Notebook*, September 1955. Published by the Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago. Copyright © 1955 by the University of Chicago. Reprinted by permission of the *Administrator's Notebook*.

recall as many "critical incidents" as possible involving the principal. Flanagan has described a "critical incident" in the following statement:

By an incident is meant any observable type of human activity which is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing this act. To be critical, the incident must be performed in a situation where the purpose or intent of the act seems fairly clear to the observer and its consequences are sufficiently definite so there is little doubt concerning its effects.²

In each of the thirty schools, Buffington interviewed three parents chosen at random from a list of all parents who had children enrolled in the school. Medsker interviewed three randomly-chosen teachers in each of the thirty schools. The interview with each individual was approximately one hour in length. In every case, the interviewer explained the purposes of the interview, assured the teacher or parent that he would remain anonymous, and asked him to respond as fully as possible to the following questions:

1. Thinking back, please try to recall situations or problems which you have observed the principal meet which in your opinion were important and which you felt he handled in an effective manner. Tell us in as much detail as you can just what he did.

2. Thinking back, please try to recall situations or problems which you observed the principal meet which in your opinion were important and which you felt he handled in an ineffective manner. Tell us in as much detail as you can just what he did.³

The ninety teachers interviewed described 402 incidents in which they believed they had observed principals behaving effectively and ineffectively. In these incidents, there were 363 effective and 206 ineffective behaviors reported. The ninety parents reported 294 incidents in which there were 312 effective and 124 ineffective behaviors reported.

The investigators studied carefully the information provided by the teachers and parents, abstracted from it the critical requirements for the job of the elementary principal, stated these in positive terms, and arranged them in major categories. They were then able to describe the behavior of the effective principal as viewed by the teachers and parents.

THE TEACHERS' DESCRIPTION

The behaviors of the effective principal, listed in the order of the frequency with which they were mentioned by teachers, are summarized below. Those

² John C. Flanagan, "The Critical Incident Technique in the Study of Individuals," *Modern Educational Problems: Report of the Seventeenth Educational Conference, New York City, October 30-31, 1952*, p. 61. Washington: American Council on Education, 1952.

³ Buffington, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
Medsker, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

in which an asterisk precedes the number or letter constitute 10 per cent or more of all the behaviors mentioned and, therefore, represent those emphasized by the teachers as important.

*1. *The principal provides leadership for teachers.*

*a. He builds teacher morale and unity.

*b. He evaluates teacher performance as a basis of upgrading, and generally gives help to teachers.

*c. He shares decisions and responsibilities with teachers.

d. He maintains firm but constructive control of the faculty so there is adherence to school regulations.

e. He plans and uses faculty meetings to provide leadership, giving careful consideration to frequency, length, topics, and teacher participation.

*2. *The principal works with and for children.*

*a. He maintains discipline in the school, working with parents on the solution of discipline problems. He maintains dignity and consistency in the discipline process.

b. He demonstrates a personal interest in children.

c. He makes special provisions for atypical children.

*3. *The principal maintains constructive relationships with the community.*

a. He copes with parental pressures, determining the extent of the influence which parents as individuals or in groups should have on school policy and routines.

b. He encourages and promotes parent groups or organizations.

*4. *The principal provides for effective administration of the school program.*

a. He establishes administrative devices and procedures which systematize routine operations and delegate responsibility.

b. He meets effectively emergencies which arise in the school, particularly those involving children, and takes steps to prevent them in the future.

5. *The principal works effectively with individual parents.*

a. He has skill and calmness in dealing with irate parents.

b. He gathers all the facts before making judgments or handling complaints of parents.

THE PARENTS' DESCRIPTION

The behaviors of the effective principal, as described by the parents, are summarized below in the order of their frequency of mention. As was the case in the preceding section, an asterisk preceding a number or letter indicates that the behavior constituted 10 per cent or more of all the behaviors mentioned by parents and is, therefore, one of those which they tended to emphasize.

*1. *The principal develops effective relationships with parents' groups and the community.*

- *a. He organizes and guides parents' groups unobtrusively, making school facilities available to them.
- *b. He interprets the school and its program to the community. He is an able speaker who can discuss the school program in language that citizens understand.
- c. He works with parents' groups and is able to stimulate parents to work on school problems and contribute equipment to the school. At the same time, he resists efforts of parents to establish school policy.
- *2. *The principal works with, and takes care of children.*
 - a. He maintains discipline in the school and gives parents guidance in discipline at home.
 - b. He demonstrates a personal interest in children, their problems, their achievements, and their play.
 - c. He maintains means of protecting the health of children and assuring their safety.
 - d. He works with atypical children, making special arrangements for them.
- *3. *The principal knows parents and gives them assistance.*
 - *a. He handles parental complaints in a constructive manner. He takes prompt action on complaints, defends the school from unjust criticism, and provides ample opportunity for parents to state their problems.
 - b. He establishes friendly relationships with parents. He attempts to know them by name, mingles with them in meetings, and is hospitable when they visit the school.
 - c. He reports to parents on the progress of their children, reassuring them concerning their children's progress and exhibiting a knowledge of the individual child's work.

OMISSIONS

As the descriptions indicate, neither the teachers nor the parents reported critical behaviors with regard to the principal's responsibilities in supervising and improving curriculum or instruction. Furthermore, no reference was made to his relationships with the superintendent. Both Buffington and Medsker have called attention to this situation. They suggest that it is probably due to the fact that it is difficult to observe some areas of the principal's job in critical situations or, in the case of parents, the persons interviewed had no opportunity to observe principals in action insofar as curriculum, instruction, and relationships with their superiors were concerned.

The hypotheses suggested by the investigators seem logical. On the other hand, it is possible that (1) the teachers and parents expect little leadership from the principal in the fields of curriculum and instruction and (2) they judge his effectiveness primarily on the basis of his personal relationships with them and the pupils rather than on the quality of the instructional

program in the school. Such situations are not in accord with the hopes which we tend to have for the leadership responsibilities of principals. They may, however, be more realistic than our customary descriptions of the principalship.

EMPHASIS ON PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Even if we assume that the parents and teachers in Oakland took for granted the leadership which the principal gives to the school's instructional program, the studies indicate that the teachers emphasized the principal's personal relationships with them, with pupils, and with community groups. The parents emphasized his personal relationships with them, individually and in groups, and with their children.

Although the teachers placed considerable importance on the principal's relationships with parents, the parents did not emphasize his relationships with teachers. Presumably, the parents had little opportunity to observe such relationships. Nevertheless, the teachers appeared to understand more clearly the value to them of the principal's effective relationships with parents than the parents realized the critical influence of his relationships with teachers on the quality of the school's program.

A second important observation is that both groups indicated a desire for firmness on the part of the principal in dealing with children and with them. Neither group, of course, indicated a desire for autocratic leadership; they wanted to have a part in planning and executing the school's program. Within the limitations of what they considered to be the principal's authority, however, they desired a firm and positive approach on his part.

THEY SEE ONLY PART OF THE JOB

As the investigators have stated, the findings of these studies may not be representative of localities other than Oakland. It seems likely, however, that in one respect at least the findings are typical. Each administrator has numerous publics whose stake in the educational enterprise, in their opinion, tends to differ. As a result, they emphasize different aspects of the administrator's work in judging his effectiveness. And, unfortunately, their emphases often fail to indicate the vital interrelationships among all his duties and responsibilities.

THE SUPERINTENDENT AND THE BOARD

Management of the educational unit is similar to the management of a unit of industry. Actually, the concept of the board-executive partnership was first borrowed from industry. In the following selection, the author explains the behavior of the executive in relationship to his

board that results in effective administration. Although the unit about which the author writes is that of a unit of industry, his recommendations apply equally well to the relationship between the school administrator and his board of education.

THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE AND THE BOARD

Ordway Tead

THE BOARD of directors or trustees, especially as at present constituted and therefore often not too closely related to the day-by-day functioning of the organization, inevitably creates certain problems for the general executive which can be solved only by paying special heed to them. In the first place, the relation of this executive to the board may need clarification. Is he or she the "hired man" or agent of the board? Or is the definitive leadership vested in this individual with the board acting in the background as guide and counselor? If the board does hire the general executive (which would be usual), does this jeopardize his basic effectiveness as leader?

It seems clear that the general executive should ideally have sufficient capacity and personality to rise above the fact that he is technically in the employ of the board and responsible legally to it; and for all practical purposes he should assume the acknowledged leadership. This will be sound, not because this executive should dominate the board or assume that he has a vested right in his position, but because both from the standpoint of new vision and planning, and also from the point of view of clearly centralized operating responsibility, *there has to be a head*.

And if the general secretary is to be this head with the greatest effectiveness, it is probably desirable that he should enter into a contract with the board for specified periods. This would give him reasonable independence during incumbency while giving the board periodic opportunity to renew the contract or not. Obviously, of course, the whole relationship should always rise above the level of contract to a level of fellowship and harmonious intention. But the fact remains that the method of relating the general executive to the organization should be explicit, should encourage real leading guidance from him, and should get away from any suggestion that he is only the agent or mouthpiece of the board.

The good executive, however, carries weight with his board, not because he has an iron-clad contract, but because he works with them in ways that

get results which both he and they think important. Real leadership on his part, therefore, consists in applying most fully the collective wisdom of the whole board to problems arising as to the creative guidance of the organization. Lofty as this ideal may sound, it calls in a workaday world for the most practical application on the part of the executive of foresight, tact, and persuasiveness. If even a good board is to perform at its best, it must continuously feel not only that there are new worlds to conquer, but that it *can* conquer some of them. To the end of strengthening this mood the following hints may be helpful:

1. The general executive should get the board to consider problems when they have become, or threaten to become, troublesome to the board. There is a wise sense of timing to be employed in choosing the psychological moment when a difficulty is imminent, genuine, and pressing. We have always to remember that people think to best advantage *when a problem is disturbing them*. Sometimes the shrewd leader will be able to foresee and anticipate problems so that they can be considered as pressing before they become too crucial. But even this can only be done when the board can be made genuinely concerned by the issue. Sometimes, also, it will be good tactics to let some issue come to a crisis (at least from the board's point of view), in order that the board will be aroused, will deliberate, and will act.

It should be axiomatic that problems will be faced only when all involved recognize them *as* problems. It is the board's and not the executive's awareness of a problem which alone will bring its members to grips with it.

2. The executive should be sure that the board has the same data to work upon in solving a problem as he himself has had. And if he has a solution which he wants the board to reach, he must give the members of the board time to be exposed to the same data and to think through a solution in much the same way that he has done.

3. The executive may bring issues to the point of being felt to be problems by the board, in terms, for example, of: (a) sharp conflicts of attitude and points of view within the organization as a whole (as, for instance, when a radical group wishes to hire the association's meeting hall); (b) financial shortages, threatened losses, or budget difficulties; (c) confusion, vagueness, or opposition on the part of any considerable group of members regarding aims or methods of realizing them; (d) criticisms by outsiders.

4. In dealing with the board, collectively and individually, it is important for the executive to know the kinds of approach which are most effective. Some will see a new project first in terms of its cost; others in terms of the prestige it will bring to the association—or even to themselves; others will consider first the religious values involved or their responsible relationship to “the cause”; still others will feel most deeply their identification with the group of members concerned in the project.

Similarly, the manner of presenting data to individual members most effectively will differ with the mental characteristics of each. Some learn most readily through the ear—through being told in conversation. Some prefer to get information through reading. Some are predominantly motorminded and acquire ideas best in the arena of action.

5. These observable differences in human reactions suggest the truth that often some of the most effective work with board members will be done *with individuals between meetings* no less than at meetings. The good executive leader will constantly keep himself on such a personal and social footing with his board members that this type of contact and interchange can be of a friendly and informal character.

6. The general executive will be persuasive also to the extent that he is clear as to *what* he wants in major matters; knows *why* he wants it; and is reasonably clear as to *how* in definite terms it can be obtained. This does not imply that he tries to override others, but rather that his sense of direction is clear while he tries to be effective in persuasion.

7. A further tactic in his persuasiveness will be a discreet use of the reinforcement of his own views by calling in those who for any reason will have weight with the board. This may, for example, mean using members of a "national council," representatives of similar organizations from other localities, public notables, or experts in special fields.

8. The general executive should also be at pains to keep the work of the organization "sold" to his board in terms of concrete achievement. This argues that he should study, to be sure he uses methods of reporting and adopts measures of progress which will be at once as definite, objective, and persuasive as possible, both to his board and to donors in general.

In organizations with subjective aims this task presents real difficulties. And one danger that the entire administration group of an organization may have to fight is the temptation to apply quantitative measures to qualitative facts. In an organization like the Y.M.C.A. or the Y.W.C.A., for example, the interpretation to the boards, as at present constituted, of youth itself and of its aspirations, its problems, and its vocabulary, may well be a major assignment of the general executive. (If the board is constituted as recommended early in this study, this kind of interpretation will tend to take place spontaneously and in the natural course of events within the board itself.)

9. In line with the assignment suggested above, the executive should aim to make all board meetings educational processes in the best sense. This means that however much decision *making* may seem to be the major role of the board, the process of decision *reaching* should be patiently (though tactfully) kept prominently in mind by the executive leader.

10. Real issues of policy will arise with boards. It may even be true that they are destined to arise more acutely in the future than in the past. Where such differences seem for the time being too serious to reconcile, it may be good tactics for the executive to ask the board, when its members are doubtful about a new proposal, *to allow it to be tried for an experimental period* of agreed length, after which results will be reviewed and a reconsideration of the policy take place. It was a wise philosopher who observed that many a horse which did not know it was thirsty, when led to water found that it liked to drink!

When an issue becomes really acute, the executive may even feel impelled finally to say, "What you ask me to do runs counter to my judgment and to my conscience. You certainly wouldn't want me to act contrary to my own deep conviction in this matter?" Usually the answer to this question

would be a renewed effort to integrate conflicting views. But if the board at such a point and on an issue felt to be fundamental by the executive demands that he take a line of action opposed to his conviction, there may be but one course to be honorably followed: to ask the board to allow him to resign from fulfilling the remainder of his contract.

Undoubtedly a little more courage and independence in times of crisis would strengthen the professional standing of staff members, rather than the opposite.

It may be objected that the foregoing counsels imply too great an attempt at manipulation of people on the part of the executive. But all that has been said above only brings into the open what is more or less the working method of the successful leader anyway. Manipulation in a certain sense occurs inevitably where leaders are trying to get things done. The only serious question is as to whether what the leader is trying to do is truly valuable; and if it is, he is not only within his rights but he is merely being intelligent if he studies the methods of personal influence which do in fact prove effective.

Moreover, in all honesty it should be acknowledged that others with whom the executive is working closely are probably studying him with some care (and should!) to discover "how his mind works," and what lines of approach will find him responsive. Here again we should admit the inevitable existence of a two-way process in which the odds are by no means always in favor of the executive!

Again it may be objected that the suggestions above imply a slighting regard for the value of the board to the organization. Nothing is farther from my intention than this. It has to be recognized that the people who give generously or supervise the expenditure of resources which others have given are naturally concerned to be sure that money is wisely spent. More than that, it is a wise check upon the organization that this should be so. The keeper of the common purse should certainly disperse funds only on the assurance that the outlay is justifiable. This is quite a different thing, however, from letting him who pays the piper call the tune!

Indeed, instead of minimizing the board's importance, which may be a real danger, I venture to suggest that its members should be *more* used, especially where they are able to make contributions (not financial) which can be wrought into the active day-by-day work of the agency. General secretaries could in many cases draft much superior ability for direct service if they were to devote more attention to this possibility. There is unquestionably an educational service to be rendered in this direction from which everyone would benefit—the membership and staff no less than the volunteer.

SCHOOLMEN AND POLITICS

Should schoolmen engage in politics in order to obtain desirable ends for the schools? The problem is not an easy one to solve. In the fol-

lowing selection, a noted editor * points out the problems encountered by an administrator faced with the responsibility of gaining public moral and financial support for the school program.

SCHOOL LEADERSHIP BY SUPERINTENDENTS

William C. Bruce

THE SCHOOL superintendency as seen by a political scientist is quite different from the image which superintendents and their professional organizations expect boards of education to accept. In an address before the 1962 Cubberley Conference at Stanford University, Dr. Luther Gulick, who is without question the leading political scientist of the United States, outlined his view of the political and administrative leadership of superintendents of schools. He made clear that school superintendents are necessarily engaged in politics and that the interesting aspect of their political leadership is the constant denial of politics as a force in their activities. Said Dr. Gulick:

The leaders of school administration have generally been pragmatists. They have accepted the ultimate political responsibility of the school board, but have also insisted that the school superintendent must be not only the manager of the school system but also a major leader in the community on matters concerning school affairs. As early as 1915, in his Osceola Code, Ellwood Cubberley insisted on this leadership role for the school superintendent and urged that in the larger cities he should be elected by the people. In the past decades, we have had many able, effective, and creative school administrators (although they have usually been appointed rather than elected). These men have been good administrators; they "run" their school systems. They have been great educational leaders, eliciting from their teachers and staffs efficient and imaginative classroom performance. And they have been extraordinary leaders in the community as well, not only developing new educational policies and programs but "selling" these to the public with a force great enough to carry the board of education with them and to secure the necessary community backing for bond issues, for increased salaries, and for expanded public tax support. These men have been "in politics," make no mistake about it. And some of them for this very reason have been political casualties, thereafter moving on to other cities that desire such leadership, or becoming professors of school administration.

Those who have remained long in service have done so by confining their leadership to school matters, by defining everything in which they are deeply

* *The American School Board Journal*.

concerned as a "professional education problem," by avoiding direct personal conflicts with the established local political leaders, especially at points where school and other local interests overlap, by being careful not to get too far out in front of the school board, and by encouraging the members of the board and leaders of the parent and other community groups to fight the hot political battles. In other words, such men are both administrators and dynamic leaders on educational matters. They do not hesitate to recommend policies and to make policy decisions, when the law and budget leave them the leeway. They defend their actions and publicly advocate their policies. To this extent they are "in politics." But they limit themselves primarily to school matters; they try to keep the debate on a dispassionate level, using "facts," surveys, and the influence of "superior authorities." They proceed with tact and patience, cultivate the doctrine that they and the school are "out of politics," and leave the impression that political leaders who fail to support them are either incompetent in school matters or are trying to get the schools into politics.

If one seeks for a philosophic doctrine in support of this pattern of behavior, one will find very little in print. And most of what one does find is at odds with the practice of the "best" superintendents. But strong leadership coupled with a "nonpolitical" strategy works, so the pragmatists may be pardoned if they think a theory is somewhat superfluous.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. If the study reported in "Teachers and Parents Describe the Effective Principal's Behavior" above were to be conducted in your community, in what ways, if any, would you expect the findings to be different?
2. How can the administrator become aware of the consensus of opinion about his expected behavior in the community?
3. On what basis does the school board in your community evaluate the effectiveness of a principal? Of a superintendent?
4. Should the school administrator participate in politics? Discuss whether the school administrator should run for the legislature, lobby at the state capitol, or take part in partisan elections. Do you favor the school administrator's participation in the election for one or another of the candidates for the board of education?
5. Outline the duties of (a) the superintendent of schools and (b) the board of education. What duties do they share in common?
6. What hindrances do you see to the effective use of the administrator's time for the direct improvement of instruction? How is supervision carried on in your own community?
7. Discuss the cases outlined in Masters' *State Politics and the Public Schools* below. To what extent are these cases indicative of the political situation in your state?

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CHAPTER 11

School Administration as a Profession

WHAT IS A PROFESSION?

School administration has often been referred to as a "profession." Since dictionaries equate the word with "an occupation, a trade, or calling," a clearer delineation is necessary when approaching school administration from this direction. More accurately, there are three questions which appear pertinent to the discussion: (1) What is a profession? (2) How is a profession different from a craft or trade? (3) Under the definition established, is school administration a profession?

Everyone is familiar with the traditional trinity of learned professions, namely, theology, law, and medicine. How did these professions come to be called *professions*? Are there important lessons to be learned by school administrators from an examination of these professions and how they evolved? This section deals with school administration as an emerging profession among the other professions.

The first selection deals with the definition of a profession, and how a profession differs from a craft or trade. It is taken from a recent yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators. In a chapter entitled "Effective Professional Controls," *professionalism* is listed among those controls which a group must exercise to gain optimum public confidence and support.

PROFESSION DEFINED

American Association of School Administrators

WHAT DO we mean when we say "profession"? The term obviously cannot be used accurately to designate all of the vocational activities in our society. A profession may be said to differ from the great mass of occupations by having a body of knowledge which is known and practiced by the members and not generally by others. This body of knowledge is largely intellectual in character (although in some professions, such as dentistry, a marked degree of manual skill is also required) and is based upon, even though it does not end with, formal learning. Such a body of knowledge, then, depends initially on organized study in a college or university. During the time such training proceeds, it differs from general education in the college in that the student in professional training has a specific and clearly defined professional job in mind and the emphasis of his training is on developing acceptable behavior in the job.

A profession is characterized also by a strong, voluntary association of its members. Such an association typically erects barriers for entry into its ranks in such a way that entrance into the profession and membership in the association are virtually synonymous.

A profession also has an enforceable code of ethics with recognized procedures for applying sanctions to carry out its provisions without regard to risk of suit by disfranchised members and without succumbing to unreasonable protection of its members through tenure laws and traditions.

A profession has a literature of its own, even though it may draw heavily on many academic disciplines for the content. A profession promotes the value of research and provides for ways in which new knowledge and new skills in the performance of professional tasks may be pursued.

A profession is further distinguished by being "in the public service." Members must be motivated primarily by ideals of service which transcend purely selfish aims. The professional man is a dedicated man, devoted to his art and convinced his profession renders valuable service to society at large.

The final criterion is sometimes the most difficult to achieve. Not only must the group be professional; the public must so perceive its professional character. Prestige in the public eye is due partly to demonstrated ability to

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control one's own members and to set standards they must, without exception, meet. As controls change, professional prestige does, too.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION AS A PROFESSION

How well does school administration measure up against the criteria for a profession?

A Definitive Body of Knowledge

Evidence in Chapter III shows little agreement as to content of our preparation programs. Various groups interested in educational administration—state legal authorities, university graduate schools, school boards—all have had influence on the content of training programs; yet, a great deal of progress will have to be made before the body of knowledge for school administration is clearly defined. The individual student is the creator of the professional curriculum by his selection of courses, as our data reveal in Chapter III. Enormous gaps occur side by side with redundancy of content as long as the definition of professional curriculum is left to the individual student. A self-determined "needs" curriculum does not agree with the definition of a professional body of content.

A Strong, Voluntary Association

We have a "strong, voluntary association." Yet, outside the ranks of the American Association of School Administrators are many school administrators. The 1960 membership figures show approximately 10,000 active members, at least 2000 of whom do not administer school systems. The impact of the AASA must be measured against these facts: there are more than 40,000 school districts in the United States; there are 16,000 superintendencies where more than one-half of the superintendent's time is given to administration rather than to teaching (there are still several thousand teaching principalships which constitute the "chief local administration"); there are separate organizations for specialties in school administration, and the trend appears to be toward proliferation rather than unification. Elementary school principals, secondary school principals, and supervisors have their associations within the over-all, loosely knit National Education Association structure. Even the county superintendents have their separate organizations (a group by no means justifiable by virtue of common problems, since they vary from rural counties, which are basic units, to metropolitan suburban districts, which are a kind of sub-state department of education, rendering service and consultation only). School business officers are organized apart from any connection with NEA.

School administration gets a score that's both plus and minus on the "voluntary association" measurement. There is today a strong, voluntary association which has recently awakened to its obligations to help build a strong profession. But it is not nearly strong enough. On the minus side, entry into

the profession and on the membership rolls of the association are today not by any means "virtually synonymous." Too, the profession of school administration is so poorly defined that many associations serve it—with overlap as to constituency and needless duplication.

Some Rules for Entry

As Robert Cunningham has written: ". . . the portal of entry to teaching is formalized and clearly marked and everyone in school administration has crossed its threshold. But the portal of entry from teaching into school administration itself is rather dimly lighted in some instances, and one gets the impression that ticket takers at the side doors and back doors are doing a lively business."¹ Data presented in Chapter II bear this out. As long as some states have no certificate for a school administrator and others have requirements so minimal as to be meaningless, we must conclude that school administration does not, by this measure, qualify as a profession.

Recommendations in Chapter VI will largely overcome our present failure to regulate entry into the profession. Early identification of able students who appear to have administrative talent and interest can be followed by careful screening and selection—a joint responsibility of college and local district. State licensing authorities must protect the colleges which impose selection qualifications and require completion of a rigorous training program. In the final analysis, of course, school boards must stick to a policy of employing only well-trained persons for the local administration positions.

A Code of Ethics

There is none, nationally, at least. Some state associations of administrators have adopted codes, but few of them have followed through with clear provisions for enforcing sanctions. To be sure, school administrators have tacit agreement as to ethical behavior. But a true profession will formalize, codify, and create enforcement mechanisms so that the few school administrators who are plainly unethical may be disqualified from further practice of the profession. This we have yet to do.

Professional Literature

Judging from volume alone, school administration makes the passing grade on this one. However, as pointed out in Chapter IV, "disciplined professional reading" is lacking.

A fortunate outcome of the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration has been the attraction of social scientists to study issues surrounding school administration. In promoting the value of research, leaders in the field of school administration are turning to sources which contribute to the solution of administrative problems whether or not schools were at the center of the researcher's thoughts. In a recent book on role analysis, we are reminded: "There is a great need for concepts in social science that can be played 'across

¹ Cunningham, Robert M., Jr. "Is School Administration a Real Profession?" *Nation's Schools*, 62: 49-53; November 1958.

the board,' that is, concepts whose utility is not limited to a single discipline but which can be used by students of the several social science disciplines in conceptual formulations of certain of their strategic problems."²

In brief, the problem is one of improving our research sources, establishing an authoritative research journal in our field, and moving beyond the present preoccupation with "promising practices" and "how-we-did-its" in our articles, speeches, and investigations.

Service and Dedication to the Job

On this criterion, school administrators are clearly professional. Yet this measure alone does not, in absence of the others—the body of knowledge, united professional voice, code of ethics, and professional literature—establish school administration as a profession.

Recognition by the Public

This is a difficult measure to take. Since the school superintendency is largely a product of the present century, one could argue that acceptance has come rapidly.

Public recognition is a changeable thing, and if education becomes the key concern of Americans during the 1960's as events in the '50's suggest may be true, school administration may well join medicine, law, engineering, and the clergy as an "acknowledged profession."

The universally acknowledged professions of today have not always been in such repute. Nancy Wilson Ross in one of her stories about the missionary explorer, Marcus Whitman, says it was considered a misfortune that Dr. Whitman was a "doctor not of divinity but of medicine, a status considerably lower in the prevailing social scale of the period. . . . He had . . . been unable to finance the seven years required for earning a minister's degree, though he had fulfilled more than the usual period of training then expected of doctors."

Without question, the public will withhold full professional stature for school administrators until a vastly different pattern becomes common—fewer colleges, higher standards of student achievement, more rigorous application of selection requirements, longer minimum preparation periods, and closer national agreement on the curriculum in educational administration. In addition, school administration will assume new dimensions in the public eye when professional self-governing is brought into the picture and when research becomes the solid background for the whole enterprise.

HINDRANCES TO PROFESSIONAL STATUS

What stumbling blocks are faced by those who would seek to achieve true professional status? The author of the following selection discusses four areas in which many school administrators have shown their inadequacy. However, he assures the reader that improvement is apparent.

² Gross, Neal; Mason, Ward S.; and McEachern, Alexander W. *Explorations in Role Analysis*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958, p. 325.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION—A PROFESSION

William H. Fisher

IT HAS become popular to "prove" a given thesis via the route of objective data. That is, there is abroad the assumption that if enough statistics are mobilized in support of a given proposition, then it has been proven as the truth. Within very recent years, I was a superintendent of schools (one who chose to change positions rather than being forced to change), and during that time I formed some generalizations hereinafter stated—generalizations which I admit I cannot prove statistically by research.

"COGS IN MACHINES"

I was teaching in a western college during the summer session when a fellow visiting professor of education defined a certain type of school principal: "He is the sort who opens the fourth-class mail and chases the dogs off the school grounds." Another colleague chimed in with: "He is an expert at brewing the coffee and does precious little more than that!"

If too many administrators are glorified clerks rather than educational statesmen, there must be objective reasons. One element certainly is the era in which we live. The exploding population, the trend toward urbanization, the extent to which automation has affected the whole civilization—all these have forced administrators to be cogs in vast machines. This is no fault of theirs. School men are as much the product of the environment as are other people who live there.

CURRICULUM CHANGE

Additional evidence of the trend may be found in the furor over teaching machines. Although they have reached a comparatively high stage of development, teaching machines (under different names) have been part of the educative process for years.

Nowadays, however, whole conferences center around this theme and professional magazines are full of the subject. Technical aspects of the machines and their use are considered at great length, while the philosophical question of whether the curriculum will undergo fundamental change is comparatively ignored.

The basic phases of curriculum development are still with us, and they would be irrespective of the furor over teaching machines. For example, is the

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Council for Basic Education correct in its insistence that the schools have made a habit of ignoring the teaching of the three R's? Or does the Council's approach mean over-emphasis upon subject matter and under-emphasis on the learner and how he learns? It is such fundamental problems as these that deserve attention.

As other institutions are affected by societal changes, so is the school. In one form or another, curriculum development thus becomes inevitable. In the light of this, a question for school administrators to ponder is: Will curriculum change come by patch-work, by shoring up here and there, or by conscious planning and design?

In considering this problem, one is forced to conclude that there is an inseparable bond between organization of the curriculum and philosophy of education. No administrator will be truly successful unless he holds generally to some well-considered philosophical viewpoint.

Of course there are individuals engaged in administrative work who are philosophers first and clerks second. In my opinion, they are the exceptions rather than the rule. It will be asserted that the combination philosopher-administrator is a rare one. How true! Does this provide a rationalization for continuing an unfortunate state of affairs?

"GET ALONG, NO MATTER WHAT"

There are countless administrators who view their profession primarily in terms of, "Get along, no matter what!" This seems to conform with the public administration phase of political science in which the tendency is to assume that if the organization is running smoothly, that is all that really matters.

Mere smoothness of operation may mean continuing in a rut, but it is possible that school administrators should be exempt from criticism on this count. After all, one important facet of American life, at least so Madison Avenue has convinced us, is to judge a person in competitive economic terms—his success in climbing the ladder. Whether he is really doing a job is often considered unimportant.

Is the administrator who stays in his position the longest necessarily the most competent? It is entirely possible that his stature is to be determined in inverse ratio to job tenure. If he has vision, he may have in a particular type of community become tired of contending with anti-school forces. To his credit, he has finally decided to go down fighting rather than forever appease the public in the name of "good public relations."

PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS

Another aspect of the glorified-clerk orientation to school administration is attendance at professional meetings. Even though it would be ridiculous to state that such attendance is a waste of time, I suspect that an occasional administrator is on the convention circuit primarily to check on the job situation.

He wants to be "available" in case a better status position should happen to come his way.

I am also crude enough to believe that certain leaders in education make capital of the public speaking rostrum. These folks are frequently found on the roster of speakers at conferences.

They may be ex-administrators who have joined the public relations staffs of giant corporations by way of keeping educators "thinking right" with respect to current economic problems. Or they may be practicing school administrators who are adept at telling people what they want to hear, rather than what they need to be told.

SITUATION IMPROVING

If this analysis of the status of school administration appears to be a bit cynical, let the reader be assured that it was meant to be! However, let him also be assured that up-grading is on the way.

The configurations of improvement are, in general, following four lines: (1) more careful screening of those who are entering school administration; (2) more carefully developed pre-service and in-service programs; (3) establishment of adequate administrative and clerical staffs so that the top men are freed to do a job; (4) greater emphasis upon philosophy of education and curriculum in the preparation of school administrators.

HOW CAN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION BE PROFESSIONALIZED?

Educational administration must be not only wise and scholarly, but it must also be vigorous and dynamic. In the following selection, the author, a noted professor of educational administration, evaluates the present role of the superintendent and suggests a number of ways by which his central job may be profitably professionalized.

THE SUPERINTENDENT—HIS ROLE AND PROFESSIONAL STATUS

Roald F. Campbell

THIS PAPER begins with the query, "Is the superintendent of schools a professional?" Obviously, if the word professional is used in its popular sense the answer is yes. But if a more technical meaning of profession is ap-

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plied, the determination is more difficult. Professions are commonly thought of as occupations that hold a monopoly on an esoteric and extensive body of knowledge and that perform an essential service to society. Members of a profession are thought to be carefully selected, to require lengthy training, to be altruistic in dealing with clients, and to enjoy considerable autonomy in their practice. Becker [3] has suggested that this characterization is a symbol more than a reality. Even so, the professions of law, medicine, and architecture, for example, do approximate in many ways some of the basic characteristics noted here.

To assess the professional status of the superintendent, one must look at the current state of the superintendency, be explicit about one's view of administration, deal with the chief role of the superintendent, and finally assess the superintendency in terms of a defined set of professional criteria. One could argue that the superintendency is at best a sub-profession of administration or of education, but I shall refrain, except by implication, from such discussion in order to attend to what seems to be the major question.

THE CURRENT PICTURE

What do we know about the position itself? For our purposes here, I shall refer to the local superintendency. There are county and state superintendencies but the predominant office, due to our decentralization of education, is the local or district superintendency. This position, by law or custom, has been created in about half the 27,000 operating school districts of the nation. Even though the holder of the position may sometimes be called a supervising principal or by some other title, I shall use the more general term *superintendent of schools* to refer to the chief executive of a board of education in an operating school district.

These superintendencies vary in many ways, notably in scale of operation. In Illinois, for instance, a school board employing four or more teachers must also employ a superintendent. To be sure, a superintendent with four to a dozen teachers will probably also serve as principal and as part-time teacher. By way of contrast, the great city school districts like New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles are served by one superintendent of schools. While the range of school districts in scale of operation as determined by number of employees or any other index is tremendous, it should be noted that most superintendencies are found in school districts where the scale of operation is small. Only about 4,500 school districts have as many as 1,200 pupils enrolled [8]. Thus, about two-thirds of the superintendents are found in districts with enrollments of less than 1,200 pupils. The rural nature, implied by these figures, of the superintendency may have much to do with its professional status.

The position of superintendent of schools was established as early as 1837 in Buffalo and Louisville. Despite our history of more than a century with the position, the legal status of the office is still ambiguous. About half the states have dealt directly with whether the superintendent is an officer or

an employee [6]. Courts in some states have ruled that the superintendent is an officer and thus possesses some of the sovereignty of the state; in other states, the courts have ruled that the superintendent is an employee of the board of education.

In about half the states, the school codes specify that the superintendent is the chief executive of the board of education; in the remaining states, the codes contain no language on this important relationship [6]. To be sure, some boards of education, particularly in city school districts, have, in the absence of state statutes, defined in their own regulations the status of the superintendent. The fact remains, however, that legally the nature of the office is still rather tenuous.

PEOPLE IN OFFICE

Now what about the people who fill the office of the superintendency? We have incomplete data on the characteristics of incumbents of the full range of the superintendency. We do have a definitive study of 859 superintendents representative of all school districts of 2,500 or more in total population [2]. All of the respondents in the study were men. A few women have held and do hold the office, but none of them appeared in the sample of over 800. Most of the superintendents took their first teaching position between the ages of 20 and 24. The median age for assuming the first administrative post, usually a principalship, was 27, and for taking the first superintendency, 36. The range of age during which the first superintendency was assumed was from 20 to 55. The median tenure in position, contrary to popular opinion, was about eight years. The average salary in 1959-60 was about \$12,000, but average salary varied from \$8,000 in small cities (2,500-4,999) to \$26,000 in the large cities (500,000 and over).

By way of preparation, nearly all superintendents had earned BA or BS degrees, divided about evenly between public and private institutions. Undergraduate majors were, in order, the behavioral sciences, the natural sciences, history, mathematics, and English. Only three per cent of these superintendents held bachelor's degrees in health and physical education—quite different from the commonly held stereotype. Fifty-six per cent of the superintendents had completed the master's degree and 22 per cent the PhD or EdD degree. In the small cities, only five per cent held the doctorate, whereas in the large cities, two-thirds held the doctorate. At the graduate level, concentration was most frequently in education and educational administration.

The career lines of these superintendents are revealing. Twenty-two per cent had been elementary teachers, 75 per cent high school teachers, and 88 per cent teachers at one or both levels prior to the superintendency. Twenty-three per cent had been elementary principals, 58 per cent secondary principals, and 83 per cent principals at one or both levels prior to the superintendency. In large cities, 59 per cent had served in a central office capacity prior to the superintendency. Clearly, teaching and administrative experience have been seen as necessary prerequisites for the superintendency.

Our discussion to this point suggests a very mixed picture regarding the professional status of the superintendent. Great variability in the position would seem to make professionalism most difficult to attain. On the other hand, the extent of graduate study seems to be a more hopeful phenomenon. Extensive reliance on teaching and administrative experience as preparation for the superintendency may suggest, however, that there is as yet no great faith in the university training programs. Obviously, a more definitive framework is needed if we are to think further about this problem.

THREE VIEWS

Fortunately, Walton [7] has made explicit three commonly held views about administration. There is first the view that administration is indistinguishable from teaching and scholarship; the administrator is the statesman teacher or scholar who carries the administrative functions of the organization with his left hand. Most Europeans and many Americans, consciously or unconsciously, accept this view. When universities seek a great scholar for president and when school boards look for extensive teaching experience in their superintendent, this view would appear to be the controlling one.

A second view of administration holds that the functions of the administrator can be differentiated from those of the teacher and the scholar. Indeed, when this view is taken, there seems to be much that is common in educational administration and the administration of business and government. This view of administration is in the tradition of Fayol, Gulick, Urwick, Sears, Barnard, Simon, Hemphill, and other scholars who have been active in the study of administration over the past several decades. Such a view permits one to examine systematically the process of administration first explicated by Fayol, the nature of organizations as suggested by Barnard, and the personal characteristics of administrators as noted by Hemphill and others.

A third view of administration holds that organizations and the milieu in which they exist have become so complex that only the administrator can comprehend their purpose and their operation. This view was taken by Burnham [5] over two decades ago and has been espoused more or less explicitly by many people since. This concept makes the manager or the administrator not only the implementer of policy, but also the maker of policy. Basically, this would seem to be the issue behind the dispute between Secretary McNamara and some of the top military officers of the nation. Is defense so intricate that only the military mind can set national foreign policy as well as sustain that policy? If the answer is yes, there is no place for civilian control of policy as now exemplified through the Secretary of Defense and the President. The superintendent who would use his board only as a rubber stamp, and the board that would be so used, are subscribing to this third view of administration.

My hand has probably shown through: I accept the second view of administration. I believe that administrative functions, whether stated in terms

of tasks or processes, can be identified, and I reject the notion that these functions are identical with those of teaching. Moreover, I insist that public functions, such as education, health, welfare, and defense are too important to be left to the experts. The experts should inform and influence lay citizens as they approach policy in these areas, but finally, I think, policy decisions are lay and not professional responsibilities.

Having accepted the second view of administration, I propose it as a framework within which to examine the professionalism of the superintendent. If his administrative task can be differentiated, such determination may represent the beginning of professionalism. With his role determined, the body of knowledge necessary to an adequate performance of that role might be defined and the preparation program for the prospective superintendent developed.

A POLITICAL ROLE

The American Association of School Administrators holds very high expectations for its member superintendents. According to a recent yearbook [7],

The superintendent must be a wise and sympathetic leader . . . He must be a man of fine moral and spiritual qualities . . . He must have a background of liberal education . . . The superintendent's foremost responsibility is that of directing the instructional program . . . He must inspire principals and teachers . . . He needs management abilities comparable to those found . . . in business. . . . He must be an effective speaker . . . He must be able to make, often upon the spur of the moment, any one of a thousand decisions. . . .

To meet fully such expectations would clearly require more than mere flesh and blood. Examination of what superintendents actually do suggests that this idealized concept is quite unrealistic. To stress such a concept of the superintendency does a disservice to those who employ and work with superintendents as well as to the superintendents themselves. Unwittingly perhaps, the all-things-to-all-men definition of the superintendency seems to spring from some combination of the first and third views of administration discussed here, both of which I have rejected.

Another approach to the role of the superintendent goes something like this: The superintendent of schools heads an educational organization. Such an organization is concerned with instruction. Thus, the superintendent should be an expert in instructional matters. When a school board seeks a "real" educator, this definition of the superintendency seems to guide the action. There is some logic in this approach to role definition, but when the activities of superintendents are examined, even in the best of school districts, it is found that superintendents do *not* spend most of their time working directly with teachers and other staff members on instructional problems. Moreover, most superintendents, even if they were permitted to spend most of their time on programs of teaching and learning, would be found to lack expertise in such areas.

"Well," some would say, "if superintendents do not spend their time with instructional matters, what do they do?" I suggest that the major activities of the superintendent may be categorized as follows:

1. He should discern and influence the development of goals and policies basic to teaching and learning.
2. He should stimulate and facilitate the planning and operation of appropriate programs for teaching and learning.
3. He should procure and manage personnel and material to implement programs of teaching and learning.

In larger school districts, these functions may be performed by the superintendency, composed of the superintendent and his major assistants. The implementation of the second and third functions can, when necessary, be delegated to other members of the staff. With the discernment and influence of goals and policies basic to teaching and learning, however, most superintendents must take a direct hand.

To be more explicit, many superintendents are greatly occupied with manipulating the environment in which the school is located to the end of winning support for education. In many city school districts where there is great diversity of occupation, income, national origin, race, and religion, the great diversity of occupation, income, national origin, race, and religion, the superintendent must live a life of constant struggle. Different groups of city school patrons want better education for the gifted, more opportunity for the handicapped, extended preschool education in slum neighborhoods, more vocational education, the establishment of junior colleges, and many other programs. At the same time taxpayers' leagues, some business groups, and Ne-real estate associations insist that school taxes are already exorbitant. Negroes contend that integration of the schools is not moving fast enough, whereas whites insist that the movement is too fast. Catholics press for "shared time" programs in science and vocational subjects, and non-Catholics resist any such plans. It is in a welter of this kind that the superintendent must strive for public support.

POLITICS OUTSIDE THE CITY

The problem may take a little different form in the upper middle class suburb. The population is often much more homogeneous; most adults have a college education, and the men work in some professional or managerial occupation. But these very circumstances make every resident his own educational expert. Voters read the literature on basic education. Admission of youngsters to prestige colleges becomes paramount. The results of College Board examinations and the percentage of National Merit Scholarship winners are accepted as convenient yardsticks with which to measure the quality of high schools. Teachers, even though highly valued in many ways, find that to meet living costs they must reside out of the community in which they teach. For a superintendent to marshal support for public education from a population of this kind, particularly if the superintendent grew up

in a lower middle class family and graduated from a state university, is no bed of roses.

Even the rural center offers many problems to the superintendent. Schools in such communities have small enrollments; and with farm mechanization and better roads, enrollments continue to dwindle. Combinations of schools, particularly at the high school level, are obviously needed, but local residents fear that to lose the high school may mean the end of their community identity. No longer will they have a basketball team. Many farm residents and smalltown merchants have little interest in college preparatory programs in high school; hence, they see no great need to improve teaching in science, mathematics, and foreign languages. The employment of local teachers, even though they are not well prepared for their posts, may be perceived as a way of keeping the community intact, particularly if they are willing to work for a little less salary than those "city slickers." The superintendent, unless he has absorbed the local norms, knows that to accept this situation is cheating the younger generation with whose tutelage he is charged.

All these circumstances suggest that the major role of most superintendents must be that of arranging the environment so that the educational enterprise may remain vital. This means, we think, that most superintendents cannot be the instructional experts in their schools. To be sure, superintendents need to have a very clear notion of what schools are for and what kinds of people and physical facilities are needed if the objectives are to be attained. But it is chiefly at the level of goals and policy that the superintendent can give leadership to the staff and to the community. While subordinates to the superintendent may extend and implement his leadership with the staff, frequently only the superintendent can make the case with key groups and individuals in the community.

Obviously, we are ascribing a political role to the superintendent, but a political role with educational underpinning. As long as education remains as decentralized as it is in the United States, we see no alternative. If the superintendent of schools does not make the case for public education and wage the fight for community support, there will be a serious void in most communities. This does not suggest that the superintendent is without allies. Actually, much of his job may be the cultivation of lay leadership for education in the community. His board members and other lay citizens may become the community spokesmen for education, but behind them a catalytic agent is needed, and for that role the spotlight is directly on the superintendent.

PROFESSIONAL STATUS

If we accept the superintendent as an educational politician, the man who mobilizes the support of his board and his community for defensible programs of teaching and learning, we may begin to examine his professional status. The professional, as we have noted, possesses a unique body of knowledge, performs an essential social service, is carefully selected, under-

goes rigorous training, is altruistic with clients, and enjoys considerable work autonomy.

With such criteria in mind, approximate though they may be, we can usefully examine the current status of the superintendency as a profession. We have already indicated that the role of the superintendent is somewhat confused. In part, this is due to many small-scale operations and in part to the unrealistic expectations in many quarters that he must be an instructional expert. With the role of the superintendent not clear, it becomes difficult to define the body of knowledge thought to be pertinent to his practice. Since there is no general agreement on such a body of knowledge, there tends to be variety in the content and method of training programs with perhaps more reliance on experience *per se* than on understandings and skills. Some shift in this balance may now be taking place as exemplified by the recent action of AASA in requiring, as a prerequisite for membership, an approved two-year training program at the graduate level.

There appears to be little question about the importance of schools to society, but there is still a question in the minds of some as to just how the administrator contributes to the improved operation of those schools. With respect to altruism, superintendents probably rank as high as most occupational groups. While many superintendents are not without personal ambition, they give, by and large, devoted service to the people of their school districts. As to professional autonomy, superintendents have relatively little. Education is a public function and the people insist on having a hand in it. Moreover, with the role of the superintendent not generally understood, boundaries surrounding the domain of the superintendent appear to shift and at times to collapse.

This rather dismal picture of the superintendent defines the general picture. There are many specific situations, however, in which the role of the superintendent is rather clear, and his practice reveals the use of an extensive body of knowledge. Moreover, as Bowman [4] noted, there is considerable agreement regarding the decision-making behavior of the superintendent on the part of superintendents themselves, board members in larger school districts, and professors of educational administration at major universities. This may suggest the emergence of a professional image for the superintendency.

If the superintendency is emerging as a profession, what can be done to improve its professional status? A number of possible courses of action, some of which have already been implied, are worth considering.

COURSES OF ACTION

First, the heterogeneity of the position should be reduced. This action is tied closely to school-district reorganization and the elimination of school districts with very small enrollments. In most states, this movement is going forward, but much remains to be done. Reorganization in rural areas often runs counter to two deep-seated characteristics of the people: a suspicion of

the expert, and a desire to retain direct control of the schools. These dispositions are subject to some alleviation, and continuing efforts in that direction are needed. It appears that the 27,000 operating school districts should be reduced to about 5,000 if the superintendency of each district is to attract a professional executive. Such a change will require both lay and professional leadership in many states as well as at the national level.

As a second course of action, it seems necessary to define more clearly the role of the superintendent. If he is the educational politician, as contended here, he has a unique function to perform. This function includes the capacity to help professional school people and lay citizens understand more clearly the role of education in society—particularly in our society—the capacity to visualize the components of an educational program appropriate to the school district and in keeping with the larger purposes of education, the capacity to build and direct an organization to implement such an educational program through its planned content and its personnel, the capacity to manage needed physical resources, and the capacity to secure community understanding and support. Superintendents and school board members across the country, individually and through their respective organizations, can help to clarify this central role of the superintendent. University divisions of educational administration may also assist in this process.

The place of the university is even more strategic in the third course of action—the definition and development of a body of knowledge thought to have particular relevance to the superintendency. While this cannot be done without consultation with the practitioner, the major responsibility remains with the training institution. If the fundamental capacities of the superintendent are to be developed, then the relevant body of knowledge must include educational history and educational philosophy, the psychology of learning and alternative strategies for instructing and guiding students, the nature of organizations and of administration, community decision-making as affected by social, political, and economic forces, and an opportunity to relate concepts and theory to practice by means of case studies and actual field experience under adequate supervision.

SELECTION, TRAINING, SKILL

More careful selection of students for administrative training is a fourth course of action. If teaching experience is retained as a prerequisite, I suggest that no more than two years be required so that candidates can get on with their administrative training while still young and without heavy family responsibilities. I think it highly desirable that some programs of training in which no prior teaching experience is required also be established in the hope of tapping a new population for administrative work. Such a program would probably require more extensive field placements in schools than would programs which accepted experienced teachers. While there is no complete agreement on selection criteria, candidates must certainly be

bright, committed to education, and demonstrably capable of work with people.

As a fifth course of action, training programs themselves need substantial improvement. Much less reliance on experience *per se* and much more on acquiring understandings, attitudes, and skills under the direction of a university with the necessary opportunity to practice in the field seems urgently called for. This training would appear to require no less than two years of graduate study in full-time residence at a university, followed by a full-time internship in the field. Obviously, most candidates would require fellowship assistance for the first two years and a stipend from the receiving district during the internship year.

Finally, it seems to me that the superintendency will become still more professional when the superintendent practices more skillfully. When he demonstrates greater insight regarding the role of education in society, when he conceives more adequately the needed components of the school program in his community, when he builds a more effective organization to implement such a program, and when he increases understanding and support for the program with which he is charged, his professionhood will be manifest. Professional status is extended by society only when society is convinced that an occupational group has relevant and effective procedures for selecting, training, and disciplining its members.

Let us now return to the initial question: Is the superintendent of schools a professional? Some are; some are not. But concerted action on the part of superintendents, school boards, training institutions, and state departments of education could produce a clarification of the role of the superintendent, the establishment of a body of relevant content for the performance of that role, and a more rigorous training program designed to build the understandings and skills needed in the position.

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A CODE OF ETHICS

One of the earmarks of a professional group is that the members of the group adhere to and follow a code of ethics. In 1962, the Executive Committee of the American Association of School Administrators adopted the following code and on April 29-30, 1964 formally adopted procedures for enforcement of the code of ethics. The latter statement is entitled "Implementing Standards of Ethical Behavior for School Administrators," and is available from the AASA upon request.

POLICIES TO GOVERN THE ETHICAL PROFESSIONAL BEHAVIOR OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

American Association of School Administrators

PREAMBLE

PUBLIC education in America rests on firm commitments to the dignity and worth of each individual; to the pre-eminence of enlightenment and reason over force and coercion; and to government by the consent of the governed. Public schools prosper to the extent they merit the confidence of the people. In judging its schools, society is influenced to a considerable degree by the character and quality of their administration. To meet these challenges school administrators have an obligation to exercise professional leadership.

Society demands that any group that claims the rights, privileges, and status of a profession prove itself worthy through the establishment and maintenance of ethical policies governing the activities of its members. A professional society must demonstrate the capacity and willingness to regulate itself and to set appropriate guides for the ethical conduct of its members. Such obligations are met largely by practitioners through action in a professional society such as the American Association of School Administrators.

Every member of a profession carries a responsibility to act in a manner becoming a professional person. This implies that each school administrator has an inescapable obligation to abide by the ethical standards of his

SOURCE: From "Policies to Govern the Ethical Professional Behavior of School Administrators" by the American Association of School Administrators.

profession. The behavior of each is the concern of all. The conduct of any administrator influences the attitude of the public toward the profession and education in general.

These policies of ethical behavior are designed to inspire a quality of behavior that reflects honor and dignity on the profession of school administration. They are not intended as inflexible rules nor unchangeable laws. They serve to measure the propriety of an administrator's behavior in his working relationships. They encourage and emphasize those positive attributes of professional conduct which characterize strong and effective administrative leadership.

POLICY I

The Professional School Administrator Constantly Upholds the Honor and Dignity of His Profession in All His Actions and Relations with Pupils, Colleagues, School Board Members, and the Public.

The following examples illustrate but do not limit applications of this policy.

The professional school administrator:

- A. Is impartial in the execution of school policies and the enforcement of rules and regulations. It is a breach of ethics to give preferential consideration to any individual or group because of their special status or position in the school system or community.
- B. Recognizes and respects fully the worth and dignity of each individual in all administrative procedures and leadership actions.
- C. Demonstrates professional courtesy and ethical behavior by informing a colleague in another system of his intention to consider for employment personnel from that system.
- D. Never submits official and confidential letters of appraisal for teachers or others which knowingly contain erroneous information or which knowingly fail to include pertinent data.
- E. Never fails to recommend those worthy of recommendation.
- F. Is alert to safeguard the public and his profession from those who might degrade public education or school administration.
- G. Seeks no self-aggrandizement.
- H. Refrains from making unwarranted claims, from inappropriate advertising, and from misinterpreting facts about his school system to further his own professional status.
- I. Never makes derogatory statements about a colleague or a school system unless he is compelled to state his opinion under oath or in official relationships where his professional opinion is required.
- J. Exhibits ethical behavior by explaining and giving reasons to individuals affected by demotions or terminations of employment.

POLICY II

The Professional School Administrator Obeys Local, State, and National Laws; Holds Himself to High Ethical and Moral Standards, and Gives Loyalty to His Country and to the Cause of Democracy and Liberty.

The following examples illustrate but do not limit applications of this policy:

A. A legal conviction for immorality, commission of a crime involving moral turpitude or other public offense of similar degree shall be sufficient grounds for expelling a school administrator from membership in the American Association of School Administrators.

B. Affiliation with organizations known to advocate the forcible overthrow of the government of the United States is evidence of unworthiness of public trust. A person who is so affiliated shall not be permitted to become or to continue as a member of the American Association of School Administrators.

C. A professional school administrator, in common with other citizens, has a right and in many instances an obligation to express his opinion about the wisdom or justice of a given law. An opinion questioning a law, however, does not justify failure to fulfill the requirements of that law.

D. The ideals of his profession require a school administrator to resist ideological pressures that would contravene the fundamental principles of public education, or would pervert or weaken public schools, their educational program, or their personnel.

E. It is unethical to ignore or divert attention from laws which are incompatible with the best interests and purposes of the schools, as a way of avoiding controversy. Rather the professional school administrator will take the initiative to bring about the reconsideration, revision, or repeal of the statute.

F. The professional school administrator will not withhold evidence or knowingly shield law breakers.

POLICY III

The Professional School Administrator Accepts the Responsibility Throughout His Career to Master and to Contribute to the Growing Body of Specialized Knowledge, Concepts, and Skills Which Characterize School Administration as a Profession.

The following examples illustrate but do not limit applications of this policy:

A. In addition to meeting the minimum standards required for legal certification in his state, the professional school administrator has a responsibility to satisfy the preparation standards recommended by his professional association, and has an obligation to work toward the adoption of these professional standards by the appropriate certification authorities in his state.

B. The school administrator has a professional obligation to attend conferences, seminars, and other learning activities which hold promise of contributing to his professional growth and development.

C. It is in keeping with the highest ideals of the profession for the administrator to support local, state, and national committees studying educational problems and to participate in such activities whenever and wherever possible, consistent with his obligations to his district.

D. The school administrator has a leadership responsibility for the professional growth of his associates which requires encouragement of their attendance at appropriate professional meetings and their participation in the work of local, state, and national committees and associations.

E. Concern for improving his profession, and for education generally, requires that the school administrator seek out promising educational practices and relevant research findings and that he share with others any significant practices and research from within his own institution.

F. The school administrator has a special obligation to contribute to the strengthening of his own state and national professional association.

POLICY IV

The Professional School Administrator Strives to Provide the Finest Possible Educational Experiences and Opportunities to All Persons in the District.

The following examples illustrate but do not limit applications of this policy:

A. The school administrator will base differentiation of educational experiences on the differing needs and abilities of pupils, giving no preference to factors such as social status or other undemocratic or discriminating considerations.

B. A school administrator has an obligation to inform the board and the community of deficiencies in educational services or opportunities.

C. A school administrator resists all attempts by vested interests to infringe upon the school program as a means of promoting their selfish purposes.

D. A school administrator resists all attempts to exclude from consideration as teaching personnel members of any particular race or creed. He also resists pressures to employ teachers on the basis of the political, marital, or economic status of the applicant. The ability and fitness of the candidates for teaching positions are the sole criteria for selection.

E. A school administrator recognizes that the provisions of equal educational opportunities for all pupils may require greater or different resources for some than for others.

F. A school administrator is professionally obligated to assume clear, articulate, and forceful leadership in defining the role of the school in the community and pointing the way to achieve its functions.

POLICY V

The Professional School Administrator Applying for a Position or Entering into Contractual Agreements Seeks to Preserve and Enhance the Prestige and Status of His Profession.

The following examples illustrate but do not limit applications of this policy:

A. A school administrator is morally committed to honor employment contracts. He shall refuse to enter into a new contractual agreement until termination of an existing contract is completed to the satisfaction of all concerned.

B. A school administrator does not apply for positions indiscriminately nor for any position held by an administrator whose termination of employment is not a matter of record.

C. Misrepresentations, use of political influence, pressure tactics, or undermining the professional status of a colleague are unethical practices and are inimical to his professional commitment.

D. Advertising, either to solicit new school positions or to offer professional consultation services, is inconsistent with the ideals of the profession of school administration.

E. A school administrator refrains from making disparaging comments about candidates competing for a position.

F. A school administrator refuses to accept a position in which established principles of professional school administration must be seriously compromised or abandoned.

G. A school administrator does not apply for or accept a position where a competent special professional investigating committee endorsed by the Association has declared working conditions unsatisfactory until such time as appropriate corrections in the situation have been made.

POLICY VI

The Professional School Administrator Carries Out in Good Faith All Policies Duly Adopted by the Local Board and the Regulations of State Authorities and Renders Professional Service to the Best of His Ability.

The following examples illustrate but do not limit applications of this policy:

A. Adoption of policies not in conformity with the administrator's recommendations or beliefs is not just cause for refusal by the administrator to support and execute them.

B. It is improper for an administrator to refuse to work at his optimum level.

C. A school administrator has an obligation to support publicly the school board and the instructional staff if either is unjustly accused. He should not

permit himself to become involved publicly in personal criticism of board or staff members. He should be at liberty, however, to discuss differences of opinion on professional matters.

D. If a situation develops whereby an administrator feels that to retain his position would necessitate that he violate what he and other members of the profession consider to be ethical conduct he should inform the board of the untenable position. In the event of his imminent dismissal the superintendent should request adequate reasons and if they are not forthcoming or if the situation is not resolved to his professional satisfaction he should report to the public.

POLICY VII

The Professional School Administrator Honors the Public Trust of His Position Above Any Economic or Social Rewards.

The following examples illustrate but do not limit applications of this policy:

A. To resist, or to fail to support, clearly desirable approaches to improving and strengthening the schools is unbecoming to a professional person and unethical conduct on the part of a school administrator.

B. The school administrator has a commitment to his position of public trust to resist unethical demands by special interest or pressure groups. He refuses to allow strong and unscrupulous individuals to seize or exercise powers and responsibilities which are properly his own.

C. The rank, popularity, position, or social standing of any member of the school staff should never cause the professional school administrator to conceal, disregard, or seemingly condone unethical conduct. Any and all efforts to disregard, overlook, or cover up unethical practices should be vigorously resisted by a school administrator.

POLICY VIII

The Professional School Administrator Does Not Permit Considerations of Private Gain nor Personal Economic Interest to Affect the Discharge of His Professional Responsibilities.

The following examples illustrate but do not limit applications of this policy:

A. A school administrator refuses to permit his relationship with vendors primarily interested in selling goods and services to influence his administration of the school system he serves.

B. It is improper for a school administrator to accept employment by any concern which publishes, manufactures, sells, or in any way deals in goods or services which are or may be expected to be purchased by the school system he serves.

C. It is improper for a school administrator to be engaged in private ventures if such endeavors cause him to give less than full-time concern to his school system.

D. This policy in no way precludes private investment of personal funds of the school administrator in ventures not influenced by his position in a given school system provided his own professional obligations are not neglected.

E. During the time of his employment the school administrator shall have no personal interest in, nor receive any personal gain or profit from, school supplies, equipment, books, or other educational materials or facilities procured, dispensed, or sold to or in the school system he serves.

F. It is a breach of public trust for a school administrator to use confidential information concerning school affairs (such as the knowledge of the selection of specific school sites) for personal profit or to divulge such information to others who might so profit.

G. It is inappropriate for a school administrator to utilize unpublished materials developed in line of duty by staff members in a school system in order to produce a publication for personal profit, without the expressed permission of all contributors.

H. A school administrator must be wary of using free consultative services from a commercial concern which may in effect be a skillful technique for promoting the sale of instructional or other materials in which that concern has a pecuniary interest.

I. A school administrator does not publicly endorse goods or services provided for schools by commercial organizations.

J. The school administrator should not recommend the appointment of immediate relatives to positions under his jurisdiction.

POLICY IX

The Professional School Administrator Recognizes That the Public Schools Are the Public's Business and Seeks to Keep the Public Fully and Honestly Informed about Their Schools.

The following examples illustrate but do not limit applications of this policy:

A. A school administrator has an obligation to interpret to the community the work and activities of the school system, revealing its weaknesses as well as its strengths. It is unethical for a school administrator to present only the favorable facts to the patrons of the district.

B. A school administrator maintains confidences or qualified privileged communications entrusted to him in the course of executing the affairs of the public schools. These confidences shall be revealed only as the law or courts may require or when the welfare of the school system is at stake.

C. It is proper for a school administrator to discuss confidential information with the board of education meeting in executive session.

D. A school administrator considers that those with whom he deals are innocent of any disparaging accusations until valid evidence is presented to substantiate any charges made.

OVERVIEW

High Standards of Ethical Behavior for the Professional School Administrator Are Essential and Are Compatible with His Faith in the Power of Public Education and His Commitment to Leadership in the Preservation and Strengthening of the Public Schools.

The true sense of high calling comes to the superintendent of schools as he faces squarely such widely held beliefs as the following:

A. The effectiveness of the schools and their programs is inescapably the responsibility of the superintendent.

B. Every act, or every failure to act, of the superintendent has consequences in the schools and in the lives of people.

C. In many situations and to many people in a community the superintendent is the living symbol of their schools.

D. The public entrusts both the day-by-day well-being and the long-range welfare of its children and of its school system to the superintendent and board of education.

E. The ultimate test for a superintendent is the effort which he makes to improve the quality of learning opportunity for every child in the schools.

F. In the long run, what happens in and to the public schools of America happens to America.

IMPLEMENTING THE CODE OF ETHICS

A code of ethics is only as effective as its implementation machinery. The following excerpt is taken from a publication of the American Association of School Administrators and is designed to put into effect the code of ethics reprinted above.

IMPLEMENTING STANDARDS OF ETHICAL BEHAVIOR FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

American Association of School Administrators

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

1. **E**ACH MEMBER of the profession has a personal and a unique responsibility for upholding and making the Code of Ethics effective. In keeping with this broad responsibility, it is essential that every member of the profession feel a commitment to and take an active part in supporting high standards of ethical conduct in school administration.
2. Every member of the profession has a personal and a unique responsibility for keeping himself fully informed about ethical standards and their relationship to all aspects of school administration. State and national professional associations have an obligation to assist their members in developing such understanding.
3. All measures or procedures for developing fuller understanding of the Code of Ethics and enforcing its basic tenets by the national association should strengthen state associations.
4. In developing fuller understanding of the Code of Ethics and in dealing with questions of unethical conduct that may arise, close working relationships and full cooperation between state associations of school administrators and AASA are essential.
5. The final decision as to who shall or shall not be a member of AASA remains the prerogative of the AASA Executive Committee.
6. The final decision as to who shall or shall not be a member of a state association of school administrators remains the prerogative of the state association.
7. AASA has an obligation to create and to sustain a national committee on professional ethics for school administrators which will uphold standards of professional conduct.
8. Every state association has an obligation to create and to sustain a state committee on professional ethics for school administrators which will uphold standards of professional conduct. Where ethics committees have been created by state associations, AASA shall work through and with these committees in all procedures for making the Code of Ethics effective. In instances where ethics committees have not been created by state associa-

SOURCE: From "Implementing Standards of Ethical Behavior for School Administrators," (Washington: American Association of School Administrators, 1964).

tions, AASA shall appoint and help to sustain ethics committees at the state level. No ethics committee appointed by AASA to function at the state level shall have jurisdiction over membership in state associations.

9. A policy of cooperation between NEA and AASA in enforcing standards of ethical conduct is hereby enunciated and shall be clearly understood. . . .

GENERAL PROCEDURES

1. Problems involving the ethical conduct of any school administrator shall be solved if at all possible at the state level. If a decision on any case or question pertaining to the ethical conduct of an AASA member cannot be reached by the state ethics committee, appeals shall be made to the AASA Ethics Committee.

2. No disciplinary action shall be taken by any state or national committee except upon the basis of careful investigation of the circumstances in which the complaints have been made and of the validity of the charges.

3. Any complaint about the ethical behavior of an administrator or request for an investigation of his conduct must be presented to the responsible committee in written form and bear the signature of the person making the complaint or request.

4. Recommendations for the use of such measures as suspension or expulsion from either a state association or AASA must come from an officially and duly constituted ethics committee.

5. Any school administrator accused of violation of professional ethics has a right to have his case reviewed and adjudicated by the ethics committee established by his own state association. Except in rare and unusual cases, the national committee will not become involved in the investigation of a violation unless requested to do so by a state committee. All members of AASA have the right to appeal decisions made by a state ethics committee to the national Ethics Committee for decision and recommendation.

6. AASA reserves the right when circumstances call for such measures to investigate through its Ethics Committee any situation in which the ethical conduct of an AASA member is questioned, and to take appropriate action through the Executive Committee. . . .

DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS

1. **WARNINGS OR REPRIMANDS** The first step in disciplinary action shall be, in all but the most serious cases, a written warning or a reprimand. Such action may be taken by a state ethics committee, a state executive committee, or the AASA Executive Committee. Written warnings or reprimands shall not be released to the public but considered a confidential exchange between a member and a state ethics committee, the executive committee of a state association, or the AASA Executive Committee. A person judged to have violated the AASA Code of Ethics may at his own

discretion release the nature of the warning or reprimand. Warnings or reprimands by a state or national committee shall insist that unethical behavior cease and that more severe disciplinary action will be taken in the event of further violations of the AASA Code of Ethics.

2. **SUSPENSION** A state ethics committee can recommend suspension from membership to the state executive committee, and can also make such recommendations to the AASA Ethics Committee. Final decision on suspension from a state association shall rest with the state association's executive committee, and final decision on suspension from AASA shall rest with the AASA Executive Committee. During the period of suspension, which shall not exceed one year, a member (a) shall not have membership status in the association; (b) shall be relieved of all committee assignments; (c) shall not hold or be elected to any association office; (d) shall not be sent any publication of the association; and (e) shall not be invited to attend or participate in an official manner in any professional meetings held under the auspices of the association from which he has been suspended.

3. **EXPULSION** Expulsion implies permanent and total severance of relationships with the professional organization. Notice of expulsion from AASA shall be made public. Only the AASA Executive Committee has authority to expel an AASA member. The AASA Ethics Committee shall notify the appropriate state association of school administrators and the appropriate state certification agency of the expulsion.

All disciplinary recommendations and actions, along with memoranda of investigations—whether by state ethics committees, state executive committees, the AASA Ethics Committee, or the AASA Executive Committee—shall be matters of written record. These records shall be kept in confidential files.

* * * * *

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. List the "earmarks" of a profession. In what ways does school administration meet these criteria and in what ways does it fall short?
2. Finish reading Chapter XI, "Effective Professional Controls," in the 1960 AASA yearbook, *Professional Administrators for America's Schools*. What suggestions are made for the improvement of school administration?
3. Discuss the statement, "A profession is a legalized monopoly." In what ways is this statement accurate and in what ways is it inaccurate? Is a monopoly in the professions bad? What are the dangers of legalizing any profession monopolistically?
4. Formulate a defensible program of selection, preparation, and in-service development of public school principals in your state. What problems are encountered at each level? To what extent are each of these functions the responsibility of the profession?
5. The 1960 yearbook of the AASA contains a "profile" of the Amer-

ican school superintendent. Discuss the implications of this profile with the class.

6. Discuss the place of a code of ethics in the development of a profession. Should the members be compelled to follow the code on penalty of being removed from membership in the organization?

7. Some of the states have "professional practices acts." Examine one or more of these acts and discuss them as follows: (a) purposes of the act; (b) provisions of the act; (c) enforcement provisions; and (d) disciplinary penalties.

FURTHER READINGS

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- SMITH, JOHN BLACKHALL. "School Administration is Public Administration," *The Nation's Schools* (January 1959), pp. 51-53.
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PART IV

Theory and Evaluation
in School Administration

What government is best?

That which teaches us to govern ourselves.

JOHAN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE
(1749-1832)

It is a condition which confronts us, not
a theory.

GROVER CLEVELAND,
Annual Message (1887)

I cannot give you the formula for success,
but I can give you the formula for failure:
try to please everybody.

BAYARD SWOPE

When your work speaks for itself, don't
interrupt.

HENRY KAISER

In order to provide for a terminology
which will not constantly involve us in a
tangle of confusion, I propose to define a
"theory" as a set of assumptions from
which can be derived by purely logico-
mathematical procedures a larger set of
empirical laws.

HERBERT FEIGL,
*Principles and Problems of Theory
Construction in Psychology* (1951)

CHAPTER 12

Theory in School Administration

TOWARD AN OVERALL THEORY OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

School administration is a recent addition among the professions, having gained university standing in 1900, when Teachers College, Columbia, introduced courses designed to assist the "head teacher" acquire insights into school management. Before that date, there were no college or university courses to prepare persons to perform the tasks of educational administration.

Programs for preparing school administrators flourished greatly, especially following World War II. By 1960, more than 300 colleges and universities were engaged in the preparation process. The courses became so numerous that, in fact, a considerable oversupply of qualified school administrators was created. Since the middle of the century, the number of persons qualified in school administration has consistently exceeded the number of jobs available.

One of the questions posed during the years the CPEA studies were being conducted was related to an overall "theory" of school administration. Was it possible to develop a single common principle which would explain the results to be obtained in directing the efforts of the staff? The research was directed at the proposition, "If I do so-and-so, then this result can be expected." However, many persons honestly doubted whether it was possible to develop such a comprehensive theory. The following selection deals with the "pieces of the Mosaic," which were assembled by the social scientists and professors of educational administration as a result of the felt need for an all-encompassing "theory" to explain educational administration.

RESEARCH IN ADMINISTRATIVE THEORY

American Association of School Administrators

WHILE we have given considerable attention to the various *devices* or *resources* for in-service growth, we have not yet examined in any detail the material or content of the learning that schoolmen might be expected to acquire. It is the contention of this Commission that of all the many areas of knowledge in which a school administrator needs to keep up to date the most crucial, at the present time, is knowledge of administrative theory. This is especially true for most of the administrators currently in service, since administrative theory as a clear body of content is still in an early developmental stage. Furthermore, a number of different disciplines and subject-matter areas contribute to research in the field of administrative theory. This topic has been chosen by the Commission, therefore, for intensive examination in this chapter to show the factors which need to be taken into consideration in planning an adequate program of in-service development for school administrators.

A survey, which is reported in the later pages, was conducted to reveal the extent of concern expressed by school administrators about their knowledge of research in administrative theory. Stated differently, the survey sought to relate the in-service growth habits of school administrators to the evolving research in administrative behavior, and to weigh the concerns expressed by the superintendents about this particular topic. Acknowledging that the many, many parts of education, from the "new mathematics" to improved seating, are subjects about which the superintendent must be adequately informed, we sought, only to determine the feelings of the school administrator about *administration*, and to examine whether his in-service professional growth included a study of research affecting the executive role.

Igniting the Fuse of Inquiry

Before reflecting upon the degree of concern possessed by school superintendents on the subject of research in administration, let us examine first just what it is that we are or are not concerned about. Those who are familiar with Campbell and Gregg, *Administrative Behavior in Education*,¹ are aware of a field of exploration and scientific appraisal which began to

¹ Campbell, Roald F., and Gregg, Russell T., editors. *Administrative Behavior in Education*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957, pp. 547.

SOURCE: From *Professional Administrators for America's Schools* by the American Association of School Administrators, 1960, pp. 99-107. Reprinted by permission of the American Association of School Administrators.

take form over 10 years ago. As in any movement of national proportions, the swelling of interest in the role of the school superintendency did not come about all of a piece. A number of independent forces seem to have converged at roughly the same time to give prominence to the need for investigation. Among these were the following:

1. The Kellogg Foundation's "discovery" in 1950 that superintendents of schools were very interesting and significant people, resulting in the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration.
2. The formulation of the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration in 1947.
3. The findings of the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard regarding executive role in fields not unlike school administration.
4. The group dynamics movement, as stimulated by The National Training Laboratory and the University of Michigan, and heavily espoused during the past 12 years or more by AASA's sister body, the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (NEA).
5. Armed Forces experimentation with leadership and personnel hypotheses following World War II.
6. A new and aggressive search for executive leadership and the techniques for identifying it and developing it in business and industry.
7. And not least of all, our own silent and sometimes anguished admission that for all our confidence in our own know-how the superintendency is becoming more and more complex and less and less a piece to be played by ear, practiced though the ear might be. It is the condition that has recently been described by a very able superintendent: "The superintendency has become untenable."

When the convergence of these forces in time and place ignited the fuse of inquiry into the superintendency, professors of education began to speak to social scientists and, perhaps, even more singularly, *to be spoken to* by social scientists; and schools of education began to draw upon the resources of the schools of business and other schools in the university complex. Funds from the foundations were attracted. Educational administration, for the first time, came under the behaviorist's microscope, and we became the white mice of the social science laboratory.

FROM EMPIRICISM TO THEORY

It is astonishing that so much thinking and writing could have been perpetrated in so short a period. But the literature is already extensive. One central theme pervades the content. To those who have let it pass them by, the message may be broadly stated as follows: Up to and including the present time, school administration has been based upon empirical foundations; it has evolved as a quasi-professional apprenticeship or folklore, with the tech-

niques and processes handed down from one generation to another, through the trial-and-error and the hard-knock pattern. The administrators are the practical, effective, get-the-job-done men who know what will work and what will not work, because they have tried the solutions available, or they know good men who have. Further, through skill and experience and prestige, they *make* things work, whether or not the same device might work for others.

The social scientists, on the other hand, declare that an educational theory is capable of formulation. This theory would systematize administration, giving a sense of direction to what is now guesswork. The scientist asserts that a cause-effect formula is attainable, as in physics and chemistry. He does not claim this theory is yet at hand, but he is hard at work searching for it. His position broadly stated is that a set of principles can be conceived which will produce known, predictable results from given administrative behavior.

Even more crudely stated, the situation can be likened to the airplane bush pilot of the 1920's who, without instruments, flew his craft by the seat of his pants. Seat-of-the-pants flying was successful, right, and good for the aircraft being flown at the time. Furthermore, there was little else upon which to rely. But the bush pilot now finds himself in the pilot's chair of a monstrous flying machine of untold power and dimensions. The social scientist tells us that there are buttons to push, levers to adjust, gauges to watch, beacons to reckon, and codes to decipher. He tells us that one cannot fly this craft by the seat of the pants, but that certain levers and gauges, when actuated, produce specific and predictable results in the performance of the craft.

Administration and Change

Another theme that threads itself through the literature is the *inevitability of change* in school administration, and the certainty that school leaders must not only change with a changing culture, but contribute to that change. This notion is not new to us, as it affects curriculum and the instructional program, but have we counted ourselves and our *administrative* beliefs among those things which must change as well? James Thompson states this well, referring to administration in general: " 'Good supervision' of the 1920 variety in America was rooted in a firm paternalism in which fear-inspired discipline had a large role. The same supervisory behavior today is 'bad supervision.' Why? In part, I think, because the individuals being supervised today have more education, are better organized, and place higher value on human dignity." ²

It is clear that those who have taken upon themselves the scholarly study of our profession agree that empirical administrative processes must give way to theory, and that we must not only be amenable to change, but that we must be its champions.

² Thompson, James D. "Modern Approaches to Theory in Administration." *Administrative Theory in Education*. (Edited by Andrew W. Halpin.) Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1958. Chapter 2, p. 22.

PIECES OF THE MOSAIC

Let us examine smaller pieces of the mosaic which is gradually being assembled by the social scientists and the professors of school administration. (And it is noteworthy that many of the observations are not identified exclusively with education, but indeed more likely originated in another field and were transplanted for our consideration.) We have taken a number of interesting extracts from the accruing evidence of the theorists, upon which we may ponder:

1. Talcott Parsons, sociologist at Harvard, states that decision making is not the absolute function of the executive. Veto, yes, but not decision. The technical expert (in our case the teacher) participates in the decision. He does not merely display alternatives for executive action. He is involved, responsible, he shares in the consequences. The executive is powerless to implement without the skills of the technician. He can only fire one expert and hire another.³

2. Roald Campbell of Chicago's Midwest Administration Center admonishes us: ". . . education, chiefly public education, is a built-in corrective for our kind of society. Only through general public enlightenment can the experiment we call democracy succeed. It seems clear that the administrator of schools charged with such a critical function needs to understand the nature of the charge, and he needs the skills necessary to mobilize people to implement such a concept."⁴

3. Henry Harap, *The Nation's Schools*, June 1959, page 55-57 reported an extensive nine-year survey on morale, conducted by Peabody College. The most significant fact revealed in the tabulation of the strengths of a school system was the importance that teachers attach to good administration. Harap noted that the administrator tended to overrate the degree of good morale of the teachers under his supervision.

4. Testimony from the Associated Public Schools System prods us to be wary of administrative hypotheses . . . based chiefly upon speculation or upon apparent success through personal experience. The item continues, "The Sequential Simplex is a statistical tool which assists one in gaining insights into the importance and influence of community forces and administrative arrangements to the school. . . . Once the Simplex is perfected it will be possible to test statistically many administrative hypotheses which up to this time have been left, of necessity, to speculation. . . . Once the Simplex is completed we will be able to give you a deeper and more meaningful analysis of your community, and with greater speed."⁵

5. Walter Crewson, associate commissioner in the New York State Department of Education, has stated recently, "The superintendent was originally viewed as a fine scholar, a man of letters, and a gentleman. As he evolved and groped

³ Parsons, Talcott. "Some Ingredients of a General Theory of Formal Organization." *Ibid.*, Chapter 3, pp. 46-47.

⁴ Campbell, Roald F. "What Peculiarities in Educational Administration Make It a Special Case?" *Ibid.*, Chapter 8, p. 172.

⁵ Associated Public Schools System, *Newsletter No. 3*. New York: the System, March 1959.

toward maturity, the superintendent came to be seen as a local leader in educational matters—a wise judge of good education—a supervisor of teachers. As it became apparent that good schools depended critically upon community leadership, the superintendent began to emerge as a community leader, a local educational statesman. . . . (birth rates, more classrooms, tax rates) tended to divert and indeed to fragment the superintendent. Small wonder, then, that the local superintendency came to be a synthesis of salesmanship and managerial skills, to the corresponding exclusion and neglect of . . . instructional leader. . . .”⁶

6. Hollis Moore, in his skillful synthesis of the work of the several CPEA centers of the Kellogg Foundation, asks what differences in school administration have resulted from the expenditure of 5 million dollars by Kellogg, matched by at least equal investment of university staff and resources. “Or have we merely substantiated the hypotheses which were made at the start of the program?” he asks. “It will surprise no one who knows how slowly new concepts become generally known or how qualified are the findings of research in educational administration to see that we have firmed up our convictions more than we have discovered new ideas. Yet, certain shifts can truly be observed in today’s perceptions of a school administrator’s function compared with those a few years ago.”⁷

7. Referring again to Thompson: “Much has been written about the uses of theory in research, less about the potential contributions of theory to the training of future administrators. In my opinion, an adequate theory of administration would go a long way toward preparing students for change. . . . We cannot expect techniques of administration for 1977 to have much resemblance to those current today.” He continues: “. . . an adequate theory of administration might . . . allow the administrator to incorporate knowledge produced by the several disciplines. . . . Many administrators have responded to new situations, new conditions, and new opportunities by adjusting or adapting their behavior. These responses have not always been consistent or successful, but could we expect otherwise when administrators are forced to rely on hunch and ingenuity, trial and error? These are expensive tools.”⁸

8. Edward Litchfield in the *Administrative Science Quarterly*, the voice of the theorists in administrative research, deplores the confusion attaching to the issue: “The most serious indictment which must be made of present thought is that it has failed to achieve a level of generalization enabling it to systematize and generalize administrative phenomena which occur in related fields. . . . We seem to be saying that there is business administration, and hospital administration, and public administration; that there is military administration, hotel administration, and school administration. But there is no administration.”⁹

⁶ Crewson, Walter. *A Design for State Leadership in Instruction*. Albany, N.Y.: State Department of Education. (Mimeographed.)

⁷ Moore, Hollis A. *Studies in School Administration*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of School Administrators, a department of the National Education Association, 1957, p. 27.

⁸ Thompson, James D., *op. cit.*, pp. 22–27.

⁹ Litchfield, Edward H. “Notes on a General Theory of Administration.” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 1:7; June 1956.

9. Andrew Halpin, one of the more educationally oriented of the social scientists, and indeed, an earnest sympathizer of the practitioner, says ". . . the practitioner consoles himself with the knowledge that he is on the *real* firing line, that what he contributes to his school system is more important than any misty theory. Talk about theory may be good chatter in a seminar, but the administrator proudly admits that he is no egghead; he is a man of action."¹⁰ Halpin, incidentally, has been more productive of tangible and immediately useful research than most others. His work in establishing certain characteristics of successful leadership through heavy documentation of the two traits examined, Initiating Structure and Consideration, made rewarding reading, even for a working superintendent. He may leave superintendents behind when he says, "The variances tend to be correlated negatively with the magnitude of the means . . .," but he gives us a useful message when he says, "Evidence from the present inquiry and findings from earlier research show that the leader's description of his own leadership behavior and his concept of what his behavior should be have little relationship to others' perceptions of his behavior. In the case of school superintendents, this is especially true in respect to their consideration of others (or their acts of human relations and warmth)."¹¹

10. In the *Harvard Educational Review* John Walton deplores the inelegance and proliferation of our literature in educational administration. "In addition to the fragments appropriated from other disciplines, the content of the courses in [school] administration has consisted of a description of practices, the cautious recommendation of promising techniques, personal success stories, and lively anecdotes, all surrounded with the aura of common sense, and often purveyed by a more or less successful administrator. . . . It has not done much for the development of the subject."¹²

11. As a final extract from the literature, let us examine Dan Griffiths' definition of theory in school administration: "A good theory exists when there has been established a set of principles upon which action may be predicted. These principles . . . constitute a logical and consistent whole built about a single theme or a small number of themes. . . . As yet, there is no theory of administrative behavior which satisfies this definition. . . . A list of principles is not necessarily a theory. . . . A theory attempts to state in one general form the results of the observations of many different researchers. . . . A theory starts with [scientific] observations which have been made. . . . The observations must be in the form of facts."¹³

The selective overview of the literature of research in the theory of school administration may move you as it has moved us to reconsider our posture as "practical" schoolmen and listen with some respect to the theorists. We have by no means offered a comprehensive overview of the subject. We have

¹⁰ Halpin, Andrew. "The Development of Theory in Educational Administration," *Administrative Theory in Education*. Chapter 1, p. 12.

¹¹ Halpin, Andrew. *The Leadership Behavior of School Superintendents*. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1957, p. 89.

¹² Walton, John. "The Theoretical Study of Educational Administration." *Harvard Educational Review* 25:169-78; Summer 1955.

¹³ Griffiths, Daniel E. "Toward a Theory of Administrative Behavior." *Administrative Behavior in Education*. Chapter 10, pp. 359-360.

simply picked and chosen, here and there, an interesting item from the vast smorgasbord of information available to us. It is worth noting, too, that all the writers and thinkers in this field are by no means johnny-come-latelys to the question, nor are they all by any means "alien" social scientists who have never confronted the "firing line." Many names of distinguished old friends in practical administration can be listed along with theorists Stogdill, Argyris, Simon, Griffiths, Getzels, Barnard, Guetzkow, and many others. We mention only a few to call forth the images of statesmen in our profession, who, notwithstanding their practical posture and experience, share these concerns about the evolving "science of administration"; Ernest Melby, Walter Anderson, Howard Funk, Samuel Brownell, Hollis Caswell, Francis Chase, Walter Cocking, Willard Elsbree, Van Miller, to name a few.

THE PROBLEM OF THEORY DEVELOPMENT

The application of the term "theory" to the process of social interaction between and among people presupposes that human affairs lend themselves to such an application. This is not always true. Equally difficult is application of such phenomena of social science as group dynamics, decision-making, and similar processes. In the following selection, the author wrestles with the difficulty of developing an overall theory of school administration. Although he is optimistic (that such a development is possible), he concludes that such a theory will come too late for members of the current generation of administrators.

THEORY IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

James E. McClellan

IF MY INTERPRETATION of the interest in theory of educational administration is correct, this phenomenon is rooted in fundamental social forces and is not likely to disappear with the crowing of the cock. It becomes important, therefore, for all educators to understand what is going on and to seek for an intelligent attitude toward it. For, as I hope will be clear, the growing importance of theory in administration is not something toward which one may be comfortably neutral.

But, personally, I find it difficult to say what an intelligent attitude would be. On the one hand, there is inherent interest in the technical problems of

SOURCE: Reprinted from "Theory of Educational Administration," by James E. McClellan, *The School Review*, Summer 1960, pp. 218-227, by permission of The University of Chicago Press. Copyright 1961 by The University of Chicago.

constructing a theory of educational administration, theory in the elegant sense that the writers whose works I have cited use the term. On the other hand, the very conditions required for the deliberate use of administrative theory destroy many of the values for which I, among others, chose teaching. The fault, if such it is, lies less with administrators as people than with the fact that education is belatedly being drawn into the contemporary world.

Let us look at the technical core of the problem. I said that theories in communications, decision-making, small-group behavior, and functional analysis of institutional structure provide intellectual tools for the construction of theory in administration. This is true, but no one of these other theoretical fields automatically supplies a theory of administration. In principle, one can describe an administrative situation in the language of any theory, just to be extreme, say, in the language of physical mass and velocity. Such a description would be a purposeless tour de force. The reason for its lack of purpose is quite obvious: One cannot describe in the language of physical theory those features of an administrative situation that are genuinely relevant to it as an administrative situation.

The same is true, though not so obviously or so completely, of a description of an administrative situation in the language of any of the other fields mentioned. The difference between the latter and the language of physics can be summed up simply: In the language of, say, communications theory, one can say some very enlightening things about an administrative situation—its inputs, encoding procedures, its sources of noise, and so on—but at the cost of ignoring other features that are quite important to it as an administrative situation. Described in the language of physics, the situation ceases to exhibit any of the features we think relevant to it as an administrative situation.

What I have said about communications theory applies to all specialized theories. One can, for example, design research that treats an administrative situation purely as a system of interpersonal relations, but, in this research, one could not study the legal and moral framework of administration. One can describe a particular administrative unit in education as a system of formal and informal social structures having certain relations to other social structures around it; in this language, one can say some things about the legal and moral framework of the school, but one cannot use such terms as *input*, *encoding*, or *noise* except in non-theoretical senses.

What often happens is that, wanting to say a great many different kinds of things about a situation, some of those who write about administration borrow terms from various theories and then use the terms in non-theoretical ways. In itself, this practice is perfectly unobjectionable, but it must not be confused with theory construction in the precise sense. To use terms in their precise theoretical form means that one cannot say some things he might wish to say; the consequent advantage is that he can say what he does say with such exactness that he can deduce from his statements their precise logical consequences. To express the idea in another way: By using precise theories and using them precisely, the student of administration can gain intellectual control over his material.

Of all the specialized and precise theories that are to be found in our cultural milieu, theories of decision-making seem to me to have the greatest potential for educational administration. But the purely technical problems of constructing a theory of administration in the language of current theories of decision-making seem to me completely overwhelming. These difficulties are partially concealed by the model of decision-making chosen by Griffiths and others who discuss administration in these terms.

The model most frequently cited is that of Irwin D. J. Bross,¹ who presents a beautifully lucid and logically tight analysis of the decision-making situation when it consists of the following elements: a person (in almost the legal sense, which would include a group, a corporation, or the like), call him B ; with certain purposes, $P_1 \dots P_n$; and certain alternatives to action, $A_1 \dots A_n$. (We may consider purposes and alternatives as finite in number, though strictly speaking they are not.) The decision situation is one of gathering evidence in order to choose rationally among the alternatives in such a way as best to achieve purposes. But if B had to delay action until he had all the evidence concerning all the alternatives, he could never act at all, never achieve any of his purposes. The problem, then, is to design an evidence-gathering procedure in which, first, duration and expense of research for any given decision are rationally determined by the importance of that particular decision to the whole sequence $P_1 \dots P_n$ and, second, one of the alternatives $A_1 \dots A_n$ emerges as a rational choice. These conditions require that the evidence-gathering procedure be related to the kind of outcome sought, whether one is risking all for the best outcome or trying to minimize the risk (even if this means giving up a chance at the maximum good) or trying to balance these, seeking the so-called mini-max solution.

In its details, this mode of analysis is quite enlightening, even when we cannot quantify, as the analysis would seem to require, the probabilities of outcomes from alternative courses of action or give a numerical value to the relative importance of any given decision in terms of the purposes. But the real trouble with Bross's mode of analysis is that it simply does not apply to the kind of decision situations that educational administrators face, though the approach applies beautifully to certain decisions that might arise in industry.

Suppose an industrialist (call him Mr. I) is deciding whether to institute a particular system of quality control. Mr. I's decision situation has two features that would not ordinarily be found in a decision situation in educational administration. First, Mr. I has no real problem in defining the purposes of the decision on quality control; the goal is to get the highest possible profits for his concern. Second, with Bross's mode of analysis, Mr. I can consider the whole operation of his concern as if it had only one agent for purposing, inquiring, choosing, and acting. The agent is Mr. I himself. Actually a number of agents are involved, but Bross's mode of analysis has not essentially falsi-

¹ In *Design for Decision* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1953).

fied the aspects of the situation that are relevant to it as a decision situation by treating it as if there were only one agent in it.

Now neither of these conditions obtains for educational administration. The point may be made clearer by contrasting two familiar games. Bross's mode of analysis applies quite well to playing solitaire, in which we have a unified and simple purpose and only one agent. But the decision situations that are faced in educational administration are much more analogous to those faced while playing poker in a group composed of friends and enemies. In the poker game, purposes conflict. A player wants to win money, yes. But he does not want to win too much from his friends, and he does not want his enemies to be able to accuse him and his friends of collusion and thus break up the game. Obviously, since there are many agents in this situation, the decision of any one agent becomes a datum to which the others must adjust if the system as a whole—that is, the game—is to be maintained intact.

An analysis of the poker-game decision situation that has the elegance and simplicity of Bross's model is not available now, nor will it ever be. What I have to say about a situation of co-operative competition is, in a quite attenuated sense, analogous to the language of theory of games, but the task of constructing a logically tight theory in these terms is entirely beyond my powers, which is not to say, of course, that persons whose works have been cited here will find it impossible.²

Despite its difficulties, decision-making by games theory seems, in principle, to be the field that offers the greatest potentialities as a basis for theory construction in administration. The administrative unit in education is defined as in a state of co-operative competition with a finite number of competitors. The purpose of the administrative unit is to maintain or to improve its position relative to its competitors, and this purpose implies maintaining the integrity of the larger system in which the competition occurs. This formulation of purpose does away once and for all with the external definition of the distinctive function of the school in comparison with other institutions.

To use theory of games requires that, for any administrative unit, one can state a rank order of preference for alternative outcomes of the next move in the system, the next after that, and so on. From a standpoint outside the administrative unit, one may predict that for any move inside the unit a certain movement up or down in the preference scale will occur. Any move within one unit will set a new decision situation for all the other units in the system; this means that there is no best decision for an administrative unit, though there is a range of best decisions for the system as a whole.

Even though one cannot specify the best decision for the administrative

² For an interesting beginning in the simplest sort of co-operative competitive situation, see R. B. Braithwaite, *Theory of Games as a Tool for the Moral Philosopher* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1955). A review of the literature and some original research understandable with a minimum sophistication in mathematics is found in R. Duncan Luce and Howard Raiffa, *Games and Decisions: Introduction and Critical Survey* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957).

unit in education, one can easily see that the worst alternative is the dissolution of the administrative unit. When specifying preference orders for consequences of moves, this alternative comes at the very bottom. But what constitutes a best move in the system? Consider a community in which a new school budget is being proposed. The worst alternative is no money at all. But what is the best? One in which the school gets all the money in the community? Of course not. The "best" here has to be defined as a range in which the situation of co-operative competition among all the different units can be maintained. The proposal of a school budget is a move in the system. Many other units in the system must adjust their moves to the size and character of a school budget. For the school, as one administrative unit in a system of a local community, certain outcomes can be specified as preferable to others. An outcome which sees a reduction in the amount the community spends on certain vital health services is less preferred than, say, an outcome that sees a reduction of the amount spent at the bowling alley, even though the budget of the school is not changed by either alternative. (Technically, a preference order ranks alternative states of the total system and not solely positions of one unit in the system.)

If we consider the school as an administrative unit in this sense, we must still make empirical predictions that are not deducible from the theories of decision-making. For example, we may confidently predict on common-sense grounds that if an administrator continually issues unpopular decrees without consulting those affected by them, he will create disaffection in his school system. But notice this: Our model of decision-making gives us a theoretical reason for saying that this prediction is relevant to administration of schools. Such behavior on the part of an administrator would constitute a move in the system of co-operative competition, and this move would likely reduce the relative advantage of the school in that system. Thus predictions from other laws in the social sciences also acquire their administrative relevance from what they enable us to say about the probable outcomes of other moves for the preference orders of the school. In this way we can answer some of the familiar questions that are faced by every theory of educational administration: What behavior of the administrator is functionally diffuse, pertaining to him as an individual? What behavior is functionally specific, pertaining to him as an administrator? Behavior that makes a significant difference in the competitive position of the unit he administers is specific; the rest, diffuse. To what extent should the informal social organization of the administrative unit be brought into congruence with the formal? To the extent that congruence is necessary to maintain and improve the position of the unit.

A theory elaborated in these terms would be far too cumbersome to be of use to the practicing administrator, at least for the immediate future. This is not, however, a crucial objection against any theory of administration. Despite John Dewey's oft-quoted remark about theory's being the most practical thing there is, we are all quite conscious of the fact that a practicing administrator's success or failure, measured by what happens to and within his administrative unit, is determined much more by his personal attributes than

by the theory he espouses, if, indeed, he espouses any theory at all. (And please don't say that he has an implicit theory when you have already promised to use the word *theory* in its precise sense as a set of propositions having certain logical relations.³ The expression *implicit theory* or its equivalent is then self-contradictory, and uselessly so.)

We assume that any administrator who goes through the formal and informal selection procedures that are already in use has learned to predict fairly accurately the effect of his actions on other people and on the immediate organizational system of which he is a part. It will be a long time before explicit theory will actually improve this learned ability. The requirements for theory construction are theoretical, or better, meta-theoretical. But this much can be said for the use of theory constructed along the lines indicated here. As we move, and inevitably we are moving, toward planning both internal and external strategies for educational institutions as a whole and not just for the local administrative unit, we will be less sure of the ability of the administrator to adjust his actions on the basis of his intuitions. As theory of educational administration is developed according to requirements of theory, a use for it will appear.

Aye, and there's the rub. In maintaining or possibly enhancing its position in comparison with other social institutions in an increasingly tightly knit social system, the school is forced to adapt internally to moves made by its co-operative competitors. When, for example, Sarnoff states that N.B.C. (a broadcasting corporation) will give courses leading to a college degree by television, other educational agencies have to make suitable adjustments. Increasingly these adjustments will have to be made rapidly and, as happened recently in the USSR, in directions counter to existing educational trends. Such matters are not for argument; they simply are.

What is arguable is whether concomitantly increasing control by administrators is necessary or desirable. There is no doubt in my mind that the use of theoretically devised procedures of decision-making would enable the administrators to advance the standing of schools. But this step will require increasing centralization of decision-making and increasing control over employees' (that is, teachers') attitudes and morale. (The use of these models of decision-making also requires that the administrator adjust his own behavior closely to the demands of the organization. Theory does not play favorites; its use does not create sovereigns who are somehow exempt from its laws.)

Notice that these last remarks are rather easily seen consequences of the

³ In Chapter 1 of *Administrative Theory in Education* Andrew Halpin quotes with obvious acceptance Herbert Feigl's definition of theory: "a set of propositions may be called a 'theory' . . ." (p. 6). He goes on to say that "effective administrators have invariably based their decisions upon some kind of theory of administration" (p. 11). But an implicit proposition (or set of propositions) is a contradiction; a proposition must be put forth (*pro-ponere*) in language in order to be anything at all. Yet surely he cannot mean that successful administrators have based their decisions on theories in the explicit sense. This is obviously not so. Hence we must conclude that, in speaking this way, Halpin was merely repeating an outworn cliché.

sketchy theoretical notions just introduced. They might be merely that, except that they fit so well with what is actually going on, namely, that education is becoming an increasingly important social affair, so important that sheer social necessity is forcing far-reaching changes on schools. Older views of academic freedom, the sanctity of the relation between the individual teacher and his class, a whole system of social control based on the transmission of skills by personal example, and the transmission of information and ideas by the printed word—all these are patently obsolete. Things would have changed more drastically ere now except for one thing: the schools employ over a million and a quarter people. It takes a very long time to change their behavior.

To use procedures for decision-making that will keep schools abreast of the times will require, at a not-so-distant future time, a new kind of administrator and a new system of power and responsibility in which he can operate. The new administrator is one who can devise strategies for his administrative unit by applying theory in the precise, scientific sense of the term. The new system of power and responsibility will permit the administrative unit to move with speed and flexibility in the directions indicated by strategies based on theory. When that time comes, scientific theory of the kind presaged in the works cited here will, in all likelihood, be ready for use. Given current social trends, this time will probably, but unfortunately, arrive before the time for my retirement.

TWO TAXONOMIC MODELS

Although school administration may lack a comprehensive theory which explains each and every administrative act, it has nevertheless, several significant models, or taxonomies, which assist educators in communicating ideas and explaining administrative behavior. In the following selection, the author outlines two of these: (1) the tri-dimensional concept, and (2) the three-skill method of examination.

These models are not incompatible, but neither do they appear susceptible to synthesis. Perhaps the most complete of the models available today is the tri-dimensional concept, which was developed through the CPEA-MAR studies at Teachers College, Columbia University.

A COMMON FRAME OF REFERENCE

Daniel E. Griffiths

SCHOOL administration has generally lacked a unifying theory around which to solidify. It has lacked a way of looking at itself. Likewise, both practitioners and students have lacked a procedure or method by which they could examine school administration. In order that we have a common frame of reference for the discussion of school administration, a concept of administration and method of examining the way in which an administrator functions will be presented. Neither of these is original with the author. The first, an emerging concept of the superintendency of education, was developed largely through the leadership of Daniel Davies, co-ordinator of the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration (CPEA) in the Middle Atlantic region,¹ and was tested in the field under the supervision of Ernest Weinrich, director of the Cooperative Development of Public School Administration (CDPSA) in the state of New York.² The method of examination was developed by Robert L. Katz of The Amos Tuck School of Business Administration, Dartmouth College.

THE TRIDIMENSIONAL CONCEPT

The concept of school administration, particularly of the role of the chief school administrator, advanced by Davies, deals with three components: the administrator's *job*, the *man* he is, and the *social setting* in which he functions. Defined very briefly, the job includes the administrator's tasks and responsibilities, which vary in importance and emphasis as time passes, and encompasses all that is relevant to the administration of today's schools. The man brings to the job certain capacities of body, mind, emotion, and spirit. He has beliefs, values, expectations, behavior patterns, energy reserves, and skills. While the job shapes him, he also shapes the job. The social setting encompasses the pressures and compulsions of society. These

¹ The CPEA was a nationwide effort to improve the quality of school administration. It was established under a grant of the Kellogg Foundation and was administered through eight university centers. A description of the objectives of CPEA can be found in A. H. Rice, "AASA-Kellogg Project Promises a Better Life for the Superintendent," *Nation's Schools*, Vol. 46 (November, 1950), pp. 31-35.

² The central ideas of this section are taken from *A Developing Concept of the Superintendency of Education*, rev. ed. (Albany, N.Y., Cooperative Development of Public School Administration, 1955).

not only establish and set limits for the job but influence the thinking of the man and set values by which he adjusts himself and is judged.

Probably the chief contributions of this concept of the job, the man, and the social setting are the convenience in categorizing and the ease of locating other important concepts. In examining this concept further, we will find that each of these three major components is subdivided into three dimensions: *content*, *process*, and *sequence*. Taken together, these constitute what is known as the tridimensional concept of educational administration.

THE JOB In looking at the content of the job of the school administrator we find that it can be conveniently divided into four areas: ³

1. Maintaining effective interrelationships with the community.
2. Improving educational opportunity.
3. Obtaining and developing personnel.
4. Providing and maintaining funds and facilities.

These areas of content are not arranged in order of importance; in fact, it is claimed that each has equal importance in the job of the administrator. From one point of view this is probably correct; that is, the chief school administrator is the only person who can see the educational enterprise as a whole. All others have responsibility for small segments and do not view their segment in relation to the whole enterprise. On the other hand, it does seem that in relation to the purposes of education the second area should receive prime consideration, and the other areas should function to improve educational opportunity.

In discharging the responsibilities outlined above, the administrator must work through a problem-solving process. A brief analysis of this process is suggested as follows: ⁴

1. Sensing the problem and surveying its aspects.
2. Relating the problem to people.
3. Making decisions.
4. Implementing and reviewing.

It can be seen that discharging any of the areas of responsibility will give rise to numerous problems. The administrator may try to solve these problems "off the top of his head" or use a more reasoned approach. The reasoned approach, of course, is recommended and is outlined above. Later chapters will go into much more detail on this subject.

The process of problem-solving takes place in a time *sequence*. Although the administrator always works in the present, he needs to look back into the past to determine the circumstances which produced the problem, and he also must look to the future in order to predict the consequences of the solutions to the problem.⁵

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ For a more comprehensive discussion of this concept, together with illustrations of each point, consult *A Developing Concept of the Superintendency of Education*.

THE MAN The man in the job may be viewed in much the same manner as above. In this case, however, content is considered to be the *capacity* of the man. Capacity may be thought of as having four aspects: physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual. The process, which in the job is the solving of problems, now becomes the *behavior* of the man and is categorized as follows:

1. Sensing the problems and collecting relevant data.
2. Making inferences.
3. Relating to people.
4. Predicting and deciding.
5. Implementing and reviewing.

The time sequence remains the same as that of the job.

Thus we have the framework for discussion of the man as he performs the job of superintendent of education. As each person enters the position, he brings to it certain capacities. These capacities are made operational through his behavior patterns. It can be seen that no one factor is predominant in this discussion. It would be incorrect, for instance, to assume that high intelligence alone will make a successful administrator. It is also incorrect to assume that high intelligence is not necessary.⁶ What is necessary is to have an individual's capacities operating through his behavior patterns at the highest possible potential. It is unfortunate that we cannot as yet specify in detail the degree to which each capacity should be developed or the behavior patterns that will unquestionably be most acceptable; but this book will develop several leads which now seem promising.

THE SOCIAL SETTING The school administrator is an important part of the total social setting. The school as a social institution has long been recognized as a vital part of the culture. Whether it leads in social change or maintains the *status in quo*, it is, nevertheless, the way by which society prepares its youth for citizenship. It would be unreasonable then, to consider the man and the job without discussing the way in which they are both modified by the social setting in which they are placed. We also need to investigate the ways in which the social setting can be modified by the man in his job.

We first look at the content of the social setting. This content may be divided into four categories which are interrelated to a large degree:

⁶ Studies seem to indicate that school administrators as a group are well above average in IQ. There seems to be little or no correlation between IQ and success in school administration, however. Bills studied the IQ of certain Kentucky school administrators and found a range of from 109 to 133 with a median of 127. It was concluded that the intelligence of school administrators is high but not significantly correlated with success. See Robert B. Bills, "Attributes of Successful Educational Leaders," *Interdisciplinary Research in Educational Administration*, Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, University of Kentucky, Vol. 26, No. 2 (December, 1953), pp. 16-38.

1. Physical, technological, and human resources.
2. Relational systems in the community.⁷
3. The network of organization.
4. Patterns of thought, belief, and value.

This content is studied in reference to the process by which society changes and operates. Any aspect of the content may be at any of the different phases of process at any particular time. The process consists of:

1. Continuity and stability: in this phase of process things are going along smoothly and regularly.

2. The new and different: into the stable situation *something* new is injected. This may be most anything from a new type screwdriver to the H-bomb. At any rate, reaction to the new will be mixed, and a social change is underway.

3. Stresses and strains: unless the new can be absorbed easily, a period of stress and strain results, which, if serious, can bring about a period of crisis. We have been in a period of crisis since about 1930.

4. Resolution and readjustment: as society seeks a way out of its dilemmas it seeks readjustment of the culture and resolution of its problems. Educational leadership is a very important aspect of this process.

Thus we have seen how the content of the social setting influences the process or the way in which society reacts to changes in the content. These changes take place in reference to a time sequence of four phases:

1. Deeply rooted traditions.
2. The recent past.
3. The present and near future.
4. Long-range future.

As the man in the job works in relation to the social setting, he must be constantly aware of the content, the process, and the sequence of the social setting. The school is not something apart or separate from the rest of the society. The removal of a large industry from a community, for example, can have more of an impact on the schools than can the invention of a new method of teaching reading.

The foregoing outline of the tridimensional concept has been introduced, not because it will be constantly referred to throughout this book but because it is the frame of reference in which our thinking about school administration now is taking place. It should be considered in much the same way as one would consider a magnetic field of force. One cannot see the field itself, but one can always see its results. Just as iron filings are shaped by the magnetic field, so our thinking about school administration has been shaped by this concept.

⁷ Such as family, age, sex, occupation, and class, and whether the community is urban or rural.

The Tridimensional Concept of Educational Administration

THE JOB	THE MAN	THE SOCIAL SETTING
<i>Content</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Content</i>
1. maintaining	1. physical	1. physical, technological, human resources
2. improving	2. intellectual	2. relational systems
3. obtaining	3. emotional	3. network of organization
4. providing	4. spiritual	4. patterns of thought, belief, value
<i>Process</i>	<i>Behavior</i>	<i>Process</i>
1. sensing the problem	1. sensing the problem	1. continuity and stability
2. relating the problem to people	2. making inferences	2. the new and different
3. making decisions	3. relating to people	3. stresses and strains
4. implementing and re-viewing	4. predicting and deciding	4. resolution and readjustment
	5. implementing and re-viewing	
<i>Sequence</i>	<i>Sequence</i>	<i>Sequence</i>
1. past	1. past	1. deeply rooted traditions
2. present	2. present	2. recent past
3. future	3. future	3. present and near future
		4. long-range future

THE THREE-SKILL METHOD OF EXAMINATION

School administration will be considered from many points of view, from many disciplines, and from many practical considerations. School administration has long since passed the day when it could be considered as technical skill in budget making or plant maintenance. It is not merely assigning teachers to classrooms or accounting for pupils or managing the school cafeteria. Neither should it be construed in terms of maintaining records or providing supplies. Although all these are necessary attributes of a school system, they are not the *sine qua non* of school administration. Therefore, over and above what we have already discussed, we need a method of examining the job performance of the administrator. We turn to Katz, who has devised a three-skill approach to the consideration of administration.⁸ Some may object to the use of the term skill in discussing administration; here it will be used in its broadest and most comprehensive meaning. It does not refer to skill in the sense that a carpenter has skill in driving a nail or a plumber has skill in wiping a joint. Rather, it refers to an understanding or judgment or the reason for doing or saying or, in its broadest

⁸ Robert L. Katz, "Skills of an Effective Administrator," *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (January-February, 1955), pp. 33-42.

sense, the ability to use one's knowledge effectively. We are using the three-skill approach in our further analysis of school administration in that we are asking the questions: What is a good administrator? How does he function?

The three-skill approach to administration does not have its basis in the traits or qualities which may or may not be prerequisite to executive success but is based upon "what a man can accomplish."⁹ The search for an answer to what constitutes a good administrator in this direction rather than along the more traditional lines was given impetus by a number of studies made in the past few years. These are summarized by Stogdill, who analyzed 124 studies of such traits as appearance, intelligence, personality, and the like. He concluded:

The findings suggest that leadership is not a matter of passive status, or of the mere possession of some combination of traits. It appears rather to be a working relationship among members of a group, in which the leader acquires status through active participation in and demonstration of his capacity for carrying cooperative tasks through to completion.¹⁰

Stryker also came to the same conclusion in discussing industrial executives:¹¹

The literature of executive development is loaded with efforts to define the qualities needed by executives, and by themselves these sound quite rational. Few, for instance, would dispute the fact that a top manager needs good judgment, the ability to make decisions, the ability to win respect of others, and all the other well worn phrases any management man could mention. But one has only to look at the successful managers in any company to see how enormously their particular qualities vary from any ideal list of executive virtues.

With this backlog of research it is necessary to move in a different direction to determine how well the administrator is doing. The emphasis in Katz's three-skill approach is all in *what the man does*. The three skills are:

1. Technical skill.
2. Human skill.
3. Conceptual skill.

Let us now take a look at these skills and see what they mean in relation to school administration.

TECHNICAL SKILL This particular skill is defined as follows:¹²

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁰ Ralph M. Stogdill, "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of the Literature," *Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 25 (1948), p. 66.

¹¹ Perrin Stryker, "The Growing Pains of Executive Development," *Advanced Management* (August, 1954), p. 15.

¹² Katz, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.

. . . an understanding of, and proficiency in, a specific kind of activity, particularly one involving methods, processes, procedures, or techniques. Technical skill involves specialized knowledge, analytical ability within that specialty, and facility in the use of the tools and techniques of the specific discipline.

This is the kind of skill most commonly acquired by school administrators during their training period. Courses in school finance, pupil accounting, school-building planning, construction and maintenance, schedule making, purchasing, and similar skills insure a certain level of competence in the embryo administrator. Technical skills are those most easily taught and most easily learned and in which the highest degree of proficiency is achieved. They are also the most certain of learning, since achievement in technical skills carries a built-in evaluator. For instance, taking the school census is a technical skill. An administrator devises a method by which he can obtain the names of all children of legal school age (and whatever other age in which he is interested, that is, from birth to the age of twenty-one). He makes a map with census tracts, devises a census card, assigns census takers, tabulates the results, and projects them in terms of grade levels. He can then check his figures each year as the children come to school and so evaluate the accuracy of the census figures.

HUMAN SKILL This second skill may be defined as "the executive's ability to work effectively as a group member and to build cooperative effort within the team he leads."¹³ Essentially, human skill is contrasted with technical skill: working with people versus working with things.

What is an administrator like when he has a highly developed set of human skills? First of all, he knows himself—his strengths and weaknesses. He is aware of his own attitudes and assumptions. He has an inner security which enables him to consider new ideas and can work to bring about orderly changes in both the system and the people in the system. He is skillful in understanding others' words and behavior because he accepts viewpoints, perceptions, and beliefs which differ from his own. He works to create an atmosphere of approval and security for all in his organization. He knows that all that he does or fails to do has an effect on his associates. Human skills have become an integral part of his whole being. They are not easily attained, and the graduate schools are now seeking better methods of teaching them.

CONCEPTUAL SKILL The last of the three skills under consideration is defined as:¹⁴

the ability to see the enterprise as a whole; it includes recognizing how the various functions of the organization depend on one another, and how changes in any one part affect all the others. Recognizing those relationships and perceiving the significant elements in any situation, the administrator should then be able to act in a way which advances the over-all welfare of the total organization.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

Some one has said that we need administrators so that we can have a person around to make decisions. There is more truth in this than we sometimes wish to recognize. *The success of any decision depends in large part upon the conceptual skill of the administrator.*

Let us examine this skill, which is the most difficult to acquire, in a little more detail and in relation to the other skills. Working out the budget each year is a well-known administrative task. Like many administrative duties, it requires all three skills. There are many *technical* aspects of the job: surveying the staff for needed materials, projecting salaries to determine amount of money needed, computing fuel costs, and so forth. *Human skills* also are required: in compromising with each of those who request allocations which cannot be granted, or in presenting the budget at the hearing or annual meeting. And, finally, *conceptual skill* is required: in providing funds for those things which will be of greatest value to the school system, in fitting the budget into a scheme of long-range planning, in recognizing those departments which need funds in order to develop most rapidly or in withholding funds from those departments which should be curtailed.

We also note that the attitudes of the superintendent color the attitudes of the entire school staff. These attitudes reflect his perception of, and response to, school policies and objectives and the way in which the school develops, even so far as to indicate how the school personnel will respond to visitors.

This conceptual skill was summed up by Chester Barnard, former president of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, when he said that "the essential aspect of the [executive] process is the sensing of the organization as a whole and the total situation relevant to it."¹⁵

RELATIVE VALUE OF EACH SKILL The chief value of the three-skill approach is its use in analyzing school administrators. It is obvious that there is some degree of overlap; conceptual skill, for example, carries with it some technical as well as human skill. However, the three-skill approach is used in two additional ways: (1) in discussing administrators at various levels of responsibility and (2) in discussing the "successful" or "good" administrator.

Technical skill has its greatest value at the level of administration where the administrator is more concerned with things than with people. This includes the group of school administrators known as business managers, clerks of the board, purchasing agents, and the like. The chief school administrator may be almost entirely lacking in technical skill, but administrators on lower levels cannot be. We should note, too, that in most schools as *they are now staffed*, the chief school administrator acts more as a business manager than he does as chief school officer.

Human skill has its greatest value to building principals and to supervisors—those administrators whose responsibility is in the area of person-

¹⁵ Chester I. Barnard, *Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 235.

to-person contacts with the school staff. One study made in this area showed that several top-quality superintendents in large schools (more than 100 teachers) had relatively low scores when rated by their teachers on a 22-item scale of administrative behavior traits.¹⁶ When the ratings of their administrative staffs were used, each of their scores increased. This could be interpreted as meaning that human skill with teachers was less necessary for these superintendents than was skill in working with the central administrative staff. Since the great majority of school districts in the country are small districts of less than 100 teachers, human skills are of great importance to the majority of chief school administrators and to all other administrators.

Conceptual skill is most important to the chief school administrator. If he has subordinates who have strong capabilities in technical and human skills, the chief school administrator may lack these and still be successful. In small schools, where the administrative staff is correspondingly small, he must have all three skills, but his conceptual skills must be highly developed so that he can relate all of his tasks to that which is the most important at a given time.

A recent study of the differences between successful and unsuccessful superintendents demonstrated that there was very little difference between the two groups of superintendents in those practices called *technical*. The difference between the two groups in those practices called *human* was very great. The difference between the two groups in those practices called *conceptual* was even greater. It is evident that success in administration is related to the degree of human and conceptual skill the individual brings to the job.¹⁷

ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY

One of man's earliest attempts at theorizing was in connection with organizations. Perhaps even more urgent today is the need for a better understanding of the theory surrounding group effort. The study of organizations is central to the development of a comprehensive theory of administration. The following two selections appeared in the *Teachers College Record* as a result of the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, Middle Atlantic Region.

¹⁶ See above, Ch. 11.

¹⁷ Daniel E. Griffiths, "An Evaluation of the Leadership of the School Superintendent" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1952). A digest of this work was published by the CPEA-MAR Center of Teachers College, Columbia University.

FERMENT IN THE STUDY OF ORGANIZATION

Daniel R. Davies and Laurence Iannaccone

NEW LIGHT is gradually being thrown upon some annoying organizational problems which have plagued educators for so long:

Should school systems be centralized or decentralized, and to what degree?

Is the pyramidal structural pattern superior to a "flat" one? Why? Why not?

Is the line-and-staff concept outmoded?

What constitutes an acceptable span of control?

Where should loci of authority be?

What is the optimum size of a school district?

What relationship should education have to other government?

THE PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE

But before concentrating our attention on the new leaven or ferment in the study of *organization*—and there is such today—let us seek a perspective for the newer trends in organizational thought.

It should be borne in mind that educational administration as a discrete field of study is almost entirely a phenomenon of this century. Much of our thinking about and practice of organization in schools has been patterned on that done earlier by men in business, government, and the military. Consequently, the school superintendents and other educational leaders of the past century have in a very real sense been pioneers, creating organizational structures, jobs, and job relationships as school committees and school boards turned more and more functions over to them. Lacking research and theory in their own field, they borrowed, adapted, and created, using the pragmatic test for excellence: if it worked, it was good.

Those administrators might be characterized in the main as charismatic leaders (to use Weber's term). They operated in a personalistic, if not paternalistic, fashion. And they did remarkably well in what, from our present position in time, look like small and relatively simple organizations.

Rapid changes affecting schools and school organization continually buffeted those early generations of school administrators. They had to yield to pressures resulting from population expansion, extension of the age span of pupils attending, and expansion of the public's expectations of what schools should do.

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Today, we find ourselves studying organizations which have increased in size and complexity with bewildering speed, usually without planning which went beyond response to emergency. We find, too, that with respect to serious, systematic study of *organization* we are in a position comparable to that of a young child with older siblings: we tend to "look up" to other fields of public and private organization.

There are advantages, of course, in allowing others to "break trail" for us. The disadvantages lie in the risk we run of adopting too uncritically the results of work which has been done in a different setting.

Nevertheless, we find that much of the "new" in study of the topic is similar to, and continues to borrow from, other fields of organizational study. Hence, while concentrating on the ferment in our field of education, we cannot close our eyes to significant developments in other fields and in several related disciplines.

AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

One helpful rubric for assaying the current scene as to organizational theory and study is that used by Katz in his approach to an understanding of administration: the three-skills approach. While he was interested in classifying types of administrative behavior, the same framework is useful for describing where we have been, for evaluating our present situation, and for projecting a view of the future in organizational study. The study of organization, in education as well as in other fields, may be seen as evolving through three stages similar to the three types of administration noted by Katz and as calling for, respectively, *technical skill*, *human skill*, and *conceptual skill*.¹

Now let us take a look at these skills and see how they parallel the study of organization.

The "Technical" Era

This particular skill is defined by Katz as follows:

... an understanding of, and proficiency in, a specific kind of activity, particularly one involving methods, processes, procedures, or techniques. Technical skill involves specialized knowledge, analytical ability within that specialty, and facility in the use of the tools and techniques of the specific discipline.²

This is the kind of skill most commonly acquired by school administrators during their training period. Courses in school finance, pupil accounting, school-building planning, construction and maintenance, schedule making, purchasing, and similar skills insure a certain level of competence in the embryo administrator. Technical skills are those most easily taught and most easily learned, and in which the highest degree of proficiency is achieved.

¹ Robert L. Katz, "Skills of an Effective Administrator," *Harvard Business Review*, 33: 33-42, January-February 1955.

² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

The era of Taylorism and earlier, in industrial organizations especially, can be seen as a period when the technical aspects of organization were the center of interest. Organizational forms were justified by logical factors rather than psychological or sociological factors. Problems which we are still attempting to solve, although our basic approach to them has changed, were also tackled from a technical and purely logical angle. For example, the span of control was seen logically as a limiting factor on the structure of the organization and on the supervisory activities of executives. Line-and-staff problems were attacked from a technical and logical point of view. Thus the pyramidal type of organization seemed a logical necessity. Effectiveness was measured almost purely in terms of production and output as these related to cost. A high degree of centralization was considered most efficient, and communication was thought of as a one-way street. Finally, since the logically developed form seemed to be dictated by technical and efficiency considerations, the organization chart which reflected these was seen as a Procrustean bed which the activities of organizational members were expected to fit.

The study and practice of school organizations, no less than any other type of formal organization, have gone through this period. This is evident in the kind of training given administrators, the centralizing tendencies of schools and school districts, the pyramidal structures, and the handing down of curricula from the expert's office.

The "Human" Era

Katz defined human skill in administrators as "the executive's ability to work effectively as a group member and to build cooperative effort within the team he leads."³ Essentially, human skill is contrasted with technical skill: working with people versus working with things.

What is an administrator like when he has a highly developed set of human skills? First of all, he knows himself—his strengths and weaknesses. He is aware of his own attitudes and assumptions. He has an inner security which enables him to consider new ideas and he can work to bring about orderly changes in both the system and the people in the system. He is skillful in understanding others' words and behavior because he accepts viewpoints, perceptions, and beliefs which differ from his own. He works to create an atmosphere of approval and security for all his organization. He knows that all he does or fails to do has an effect on his associates. Human skills have become an integral part of his whole being. They are not easily attained, and the graduate schools are now seeking better methods of teaching them.

Similarly, the second period in the study of organization may be seen as a contrast between working with people and working with things. At least since the Mayo studies⁴ at Western Electric Corporation, an increasing num-

³ Katz, *op. cit.*

⁴ Fritz J. Rothlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939).

ber of students have seen *people* as the content of organizational study.

These studies are too well known to require detailed discussion. It should be recognized, however, that the research teams which undertook the Mayo studies began with an attempt to measure organizational effectiveness in particular. They also began with technical and essentially logical orientations, as may be seen from their first studies on lighting, physical fatigue, and so forth. They were compelled, over the years, however, to proceed to what Rothlisberger and Dickson⁵ described as an earlier, rejected hypothesis: the influence of the social system on production. It was only after they abandoned a "things" approach and concentrated on a "human" approach that they were able to explain many of the problems which were inexplicable in purely logical or technical terms.

Subsequent studies, from service industries to military organizations, from office clerks and janitors to investigatory agencies and top management, have built on and extended these findings. The study of educational institutions, both suffering from and profiting by its earlier preoccupation with the "things" approach, has but recently made use of this "new" content. It must be admitted that the content is newer for us in educational organization than for students of other types of organization.

Without attempting to list the vast number of studies which have concentrated on this human relations aspect of organization, let us look at what happened to six of the problems listed earlier as typical of the technical phase in the study of organization. They were line-and-staff, span of control, centralization and pyramidal structure, one-way communication, the organizational chart, and effectiveness measured in terms of product only.

Take the first three—line-and-staff, span of control, and centralized pyramidal form—together, since they are closely related problems as well as aspects of the form or structure of the organization.

Line-and-staff problems were discussed by Thompson⁶ recently in reporting a study of military units. He found that "identical" formal structures in two different units exhibited differences in the status systems of the officers in each. He also found that regardless of the formal structure, staff officers of one echelon held power over line officers of lower echelons which resulted in narrowing the choice open to line officers and in limiting their power to make decisions. Staff officers, in effect, held power over line officers *without* violating the chart or their formal authority! Coser,⁷ in a study of two wards in a hospital with identical formal organizations, found sharp differences between them in terms of their informal organizations, the organizational levels at which decisions were made, and the organizational climate. These differences were related to the basic activity of each ward: one was a medical ward, the other surgical.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ James P. Thompson, "Authority and Power in 'Identical' Organizations," *American Journal of Sociology*, 62: 290-301, November 1956.

⁷ Rose L. Coser, "Authority and Decision-Making in a Hospital," *American Sociological Review*, 23: 56-63, February 1958.

Bey,⁸ using a decision-making approach to organization in education, reported a study of schools with similar formal structures for this purpose. He found that they differed, however, in the social climate or environment in which decisions were made, and concluded that this difference rather than the formal structure distinguished "good" from "poor" school organizations.

Cornell,⁹ in an article in *School Executive*, stresses the importance of social perception in connection with the divergence between individual and organizational goals. Administration is, he says, the maintenance of these potentially divergent goals in proper balance so as to accomplish the school's goals. Cornell then states that the climate of the school is more important than the form of its organization. Davies,¹⁰ French,¹¹ and Skogsberg¹² go further. Describing the line-and-staff structure as an essential but extremely narrow way to view organization, they propose a more comprehensive pattern based upon *purpose* rather than hierarchy of authority. However, there seems to have been no research or further speculation following upon their suggestions.

In connection with the span-of-control concepts of administration and the related pyramidal structure of organizations, Dale, reporting on the Sears study wrote:

Detailed studies on the span of control at Sears, Roebuck and Company very definitely show the superiority in operating efficiency of a large span of control, provided subordinates are of high competence and self-reliance. Sears' regional vice-presidents now have full authority over everything in their territories, except purchasing, of course. These vice-presidents report to the president. As a result, Sears' president now has 13 executives directly under his supervision. These territorial vice-presidents, in turn, have even more people reporting directly to them. In addition, other executives down the line have direct access to the president.¹³

Turning to educational organization again, an ambitious study of staff organization for effective operation has been made by the New York Co-operative Development of Public School Administration (as the CPEA in that state was called). This was an action research project in the sense that the users of the products of the study engaged in the study. Yet there was constant reference to basic research done in the field. For our purposes, the

⁸ Douglas R. Bey, "A Further Study in School Organization," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 37: 217-221, February 1956.

⁹ Francis G. Cornell, "Organization is More than a Line Chart," *School Executive*, 77: 83-86, September 1957.

¹⁰ Daniel R. Davies, "Organization Patterns for Today's Schools," *Teachers College Record*, November 1950, pp. 90-97.

¹¹ Will French, "The Postwar High School Should Be Purpose-Organized," *Teachers College Record*, April 1945, pp. 403-412.

¹² Alfred H. Skogsberg, "Basing Staff Organization on Purpose," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 36: 213-218, March 1955.

¹³ Ernest Dale, *Planning and Developing the Company Organization Structure* (New York: American Management Association, 1952), p. 53.

conclusions of Report #2, *Modern Practices and Concepts of Staffing Schools*, are sufficient to illustrate what effect the present "human" orientation is having on the study of old problems. This study concludes:

1. All organizational structures are line-and-staff, no other type has yet been invented or is likely to be.
2. The structuring of an organization should proceed after purposes have been clearly stated.
3. The organization should be under unit control, and all major administrative officers should be trained professional educators.
4. There should be a considerable degree of decentralization in the district organization.

In another study, reported by The Educational Conference Board in New York State in 1957,¹⁴ the problem of school district organization in relation to size and quality of educational program was examined. Here, for the first time, some upper limits of size as to population were suggested primarily on "human" grounds. As size increases, new organizational patterns are called for to maintain effective communication and control relations between lay citizens and professional educators. According to the report, no organizational structure has yet been invented which suits the educational needs of the system.

The relative weighting to be given the pros and cons in the above positions concerning the optimum form of school organization need not concern us here. It is clear, however, that we have a range of positions from the modified pyramid through the flat, decentralized type to the position which says, in effect, "It is 'climate' which counts, not form." That range of positions, it is equally clear, exists because of the "human" frame of reference which has permeated recent organization studies.

Touching briefly on *communication* and the *organization chart* problems, we find that the change from exclusive concern for "things" and techniques to the inclusion of "people" is reflected in drastic revisions of earlier assumptions about the function of charts of formal organization. For example, several familiar phrases now under question are: "going through channels," "communication down the line and up the line," "top brass," and "the executive ladder."

Gradually pushing such expressions into obsolescence are new researches on feed-back systems, on the relationship of formal to informal systems, on charting which takes into account the organizational power structure, on work-flow as well as authority channels. The new knowledge is leading to attempts to adjust the chart to people rather than people to the chart.

This, for example, is what Arensberg and MacGregor¹⁵ recommended in their study of the morale of a division of design engineers in an electrical equipment plant. Some corporations follow the practice of revising the chart

¹⁴ New York Educational Conference Board, *School Quality and Local School Government* (Albany, 1956).

¹⁵ Conrad Arensberg and D. MacGregor, "Determination of Morale in an Industrial Company," *Applied Anthropology*, 1: 12-34, January 1942.

at regular intervals to suit the informal system. Students and consultants in any areas of organizational research (including schools) are attempting with increasing frequency to make the formal organizational chart conform to the operating procedures informally developed by organizational members. Similarly, the addition of various kinds of advisory committees to organizational structures is intended to aid feedback and intercommunication generally.

Finally, product measures of effectiveness have been seen to have weaknesses which seriously impair their practical value. A recent article in the *Harvard Business Review*¹⁶ cited research which indicated that high production is frequently achieved at the cost of placing stress on the organization's human relations. In the short run, this might not show in terms of product measures even over a period of several years. It is possible to get high production, trading as it were on previously banked good will. In the long run, however, the price for this high production is paid in terms of low production, poor human relations between management and workers, and low morale. Thus product measures are attacked precisely in relation to the human element, which is the key motif of this second period in the study of organization.

The problems in measuring school organizational effectiveness are even more complex than where either a profit and loss statement exists or widgets can be counted. Educational organizations were made to order for process measures when, as an aftermath of the Mayo studies, students of organization began to focus on process rather than on product measures. As Halpin¹⁷ has pointed out, the bulk of the research in educational administration has concerned itself with process. Intermediate measures of effectiveness have been used widely, but no ultimate criteria have been developed for organizations in education.

The search for process criteria of effectiveness based upon the dominant theme of this period—organization is people—took, and in education is more and more taking the form of measures of effectiveness in terms of convergence of perception, role expectations and conflicts, and employee (that is, teacher) satisfaction. Morale studies, for example, are hardly studies of organizational effectiveness except if the assumption is made—and there is considerable evidence to support it—that poor morale means *ipso facto* poor production.

Leaving aside for the moment consideration of the validity of the measure, and its invalid converse, it is clear that here the organization is measured specifically in terms of its human relations.

Illustrations of some of the more obvious shifts in thinking about organizational theory in this "human" period might be summarized thus:

1. The form of the organization is for some much less important than the

¹⁶ Rensis Likert, "Measuring Organizational Performance," *Harvard Business Review*, 36: 41-50, March-April 1958.

¹⁷ Andrew W. Halpin, "A Paradigm for Research on Administrative Behavior," in *Administrative Behavior in Education* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), Chapter 5.

climate; and for others it is not very meaningful without the climate. (And remember when people say "climate" in organizational jargon, they are saying human relations climate.)

2. Formal organization, often in terms of the chart itself, is seen as emergent rather than fixed, and as conformable to the informal organization rather than the converse.

3. The trend toward centralization is being questioned. Since the Sears¹⁸ studies, a justification in terms of efficiency has been added to psychological arguments in favor of decentralization.

4. Criteria of effectiveness have been based on self-reported self-perceptions of satisfaction, role definition and behavior, conflict of expectations, and so forth.

As may readily be seen by contrasting the foregoing concepts with the dominant ones of the technical period, the present approach to the study of organization constitutes not only a shift from things to people but, better, a reaction from things and technical skills to people and human skills. Perhaps for this reason much of present writing and research on organization bears the mark of a reaction in the sense that it overstates its case. So, at least, run the recent arguments of a number of careful students of organization who have made real contributions to the human relations aspects of organization theory. The embryonic change which seems to foreshadow the beginning of a new period in organizational study may also be seen as a logical outgrowth of some of the major corollaries to the thesis of phase two—the content of organizational study is people.

Three corollaries may be stated thus:

1. Because the content of organization is people, the study and structuring of organizational form must rest upon psychological and sociological factors primarily.

2. Since the content of this branch of study is people, or more specifically human behavior, an interdisciplinary team approach is required.

3. Since, to quote Harry Stack Sullivan, "human beings are more nearly human than anything else," this content provides a common meeting ground for students of different types of organization. Evidence for this may be seen in the opinions of students of administrative theory.

For instance, the appearance two years ago of the periodical *Administrative Science Quarterly* is itself evidence of a growing sense of common bonds on the part of students of different "adjective" fields of administration. Of eight papers presented at the first University Council for Educational Administration seminar at Chicago last year, seven gave expression to the theme that administration in the various fields was more alike than different.

The Conceptual Era

The shape of things to come is growing out of convictions and conclusions from all of the foregoing activity. It is clear that organization must be seen

¹⁸ Dale, *op. cit.*

in terms of people, that psychological and sociological systems outweigh in importance purely logical forms and techniques, that interdisciplinary approaches must be used, and that human organizations, whatever their type or field of application, are more alike than different.

The kinds of training, study, and research which are bound to result from such concepts are also bound to produce the type of student who will give the third phase its characteristic commentary, theory, and study.

The characteristic goal of this third phase will be an encompassing theory, unifying concepts in an effort to relate pertinent data comprehensively to organizational design, function, and adaptability. In the current writings of students of organization one senses dissatisfaction with present formulations of role theory, with the use of satisfaction and morale as criteria, with static views of aspects of organization, and with the omission of bodies of relevant data from most existing approaches.

The third or conceptual phase, then, corresponds to the last of the three skills defined by Katz:

the ability to see the enterprise as a whole; it includes recognizing how . . . the various functions of the organization depend on one another, and how changes in any one part affect all the others. Recognizing those relationships and perceiving the significant elements in any situation, the administrator should then be able to act in a way which advances the over-all welfare of the total organization.¹⁹

This era in the study of organization will be characterized by a search for concepts which will adequately describe ". . . how the various functions of the organization depend on one another, and how changes in any one part affect all the others." There will be continued movement away from static description, from speculation alone, from design based upon hunch toward quantified descriptions of the dynamics of organization, toward study of change and adaptability, toward formulations based upon research and controlled experimentation.

There can already be seen a reaction against the reaction, as it were, in the criticisms of the shortcomings of present approaches to theory. Take the case of the search for criteria of effectiveness. Coladarci²⁰ has labeled the search for a criterion of what constitutes success in terms of the perceptions of various reference groups as a search for a will-o'-the-wisp. Briefly, his position is that there are differences among reference groups, and that even within each reference group there are variations *not attributable totally to error in perception of what constitutes success*. Therefore, limiting ourselves to this approach in our search for a criterion must be relatively unfruitful.

Halpin²¹ made a strong argument for the development of ultimate criteria

¹⁹ Katz, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

²⁰ Arthur P. Coladarci, "Administrative Success Criteria," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 37: 283-285, April 1956.

²¹ Halpin, *op. cit.*

of effectiveness. Until we have them it will be difficult if not impossible to state with certainty or to test scientifically what organizational forms are "good" or "poor."

In essence, the answers to questions such as those of decentralized versus centralized administration, of optimum size of a school system, what line-and-staff relationships are best, and many others will depend upon the development of ultimate criteria of effectiveness. Halpin suggests that such a criterion might be the degree to which a school achieves its task. And he proposes that the task be defined by the profession, informed members of the larger society, and others. This, unfortunately, lands us in the dilemma Coladarci²² warns about—the perception of various reference groups of what constitutes success. The effort to discover criteria of effectiveness with which to measure school organization has borne little fruit. However, it has revealed that a dynamic view of organization as an emergent rather than as a static and complete entity lies at the heart of this third phase, the conceptual.

While it has always been obvious to careful students that organizations are not static, it is only recently that we have attempted to study or even to propose ways of studying organizational change.

It was pointed out above that Halpin proposed that change in achievement be studied to measure effectiveness. If we mention Argyris²³ and others who have studied the effect of the organization on people and people on it, we are actually talking about studies which attempt to get a dynamic rather than static picture of organization. The methodology and concepts which we must use, however, are the results of the human relations and relatively static point of view. It is as if one took a series of still snapshots of an object and then used a movie camera on the same object. They may both show change, but only the movie camera gets the fine points and illustrates the sequence. The bulk, perhaps (certainly many), of the studies of the relationships between organization structure and people are involved in change—the process by which the organizational structure molds and changes people and that by which people mold and influence the organization. In a word, most of the writers mentioned above are touching on interaction between people and organization. This focus on interaction between component sub-systems of the larger system, which is the organization, requires a conceptual scheme which takes into account people and things and also pays particular attention to the interactive processes which may produce change in organizations.

Conceptual skill was defined by Katz²⁴ as "the ability to see the enterprise as a whole; it includes recognizing how the various functions of the organization depend on one another, and how changes in any one part affect all the others. Recognizing those relationships and perceiving the significant elements in any situation. . . ." This definition tells us much about the

²² Coladarci, *op. cit.*

²³ Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957).

²⁴ Katz, *op. cit.*

future directions in the study of organization. If we are to impart critical knowledge to aspiring administrators and other students of organization, our vision of the future must be as clear as possible. Approaches to organizational study which stress conceptual skills must: (1) be molar rather than molecular; (2) pay close attention to the *interdependencies of functional relationships*; (3) isolate or reveal *significant elements* in organizational situations; and (4) derive information from the *study of change* in organization.

These four conclusions may be seen not only as a consequence of the need for tools which extend conceptual skills, but also as a response to the recent writings of thoughtful students of organization who have evaluated present knowledge and exposed its inadequacies.

Charters, for example, made a study of the research on the characteristics of school board members. In some seventy-five studies in this area conducted since 1904, the same findings were reported over the years. Charters says, "To add more information of the same sort to the vast accumulation of surveys already at hand is a misdirection of research effort. The pressing problems of education call for research which explains *how* our schools and school boards *function*; the time for descriptions of the status of board members has passed."²⁵ When we talk about studying how organizations function, we are talking about dynamics, interaction, or interdependent changes.

A recently published report by Gross and others may be the largest study in education using the role theory. Their conclusion is that role theory ". . . has yielded few significant hypotheses of theoretical importance. If one judges the scientific utility of a concept by the degree to which it is involved in significant theoretical propositions that are capable of empirical examination, it must be said that in current formulations the role concept has not proved its worth."²⁶ As a result of several years of study, Gross and his coauthors suspect that the weakness of this theory lies in the key assumption that the phenomenon to which role concept refers can be identified and described by consensus. And they further suggest works which treat consensus as a variable and study the interaction which produces it. Again the focal point is change.

The September 1955 *Journal of Educational Sociology* was devoted to reports of role studies. In a critique of research on teacher and administrator roles, Brookover²⁷ pointed out that we do not know under what conditions actors can impose their definition of the role on others. He noted that role and role definition are continually redefined in interaction, so that the self-involvement and definitions have an impact on role expectations but do

²⁵ W. W. Charters, Jr., "Beyond the Survey in School Board Research," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 41: 449-452, December 1955, p. 452.

²⁶ Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, Alexander W. McEachern, *Explorations in Role Analysis* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957), pp. 319-326.

²⁷ W. B. Brookover, "Research on Teacher and Administrator Roles," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 29: 2-13, September 1955.

not control them. He also suggests research on the dynamic interaction process by which roles are defined and redefined.

Bidwell²⁸ proposes an approach which will include the human relations approach as one of three dimensions in organizational study. He distinguishes between what he calls the traditional concept, which saw organization and administration in terms of the allocation of resources both human and material without a priority for either, and the notion that organization is social process with attention paid particularly to the needs and goals of individuals (that is, what we have referred to as the "technique" and "human" periods in the study of organization). Neither, he suggests, is sufficient because the organization has three dimensions: (1) the economic—involving use of scarce means to organizational ends; (2) the political—or the authority and enforcement features of the organization; and (3) the sociological—role relationships, formal and informal organization, and so forth.

The economic and political features of organization were seen as the principal concerns of the traditional study of organization. The more recent work is what we have called the "human" phase of the study of organization. Bidwell suggested that much of what has recently been proposed in terms of team approach to administration, the formalizing of informal systems, and so on is an attempt to place the informal human systems under the control of the formal structure.

According to Bidwell, the new dilemma in administration and organizational thinking lies in the implications of just this attempt to place the informal under the control of the formal systems. "There seems to be," he says, "an implicit assumption that the traditional thinking (concerning the economic and political dimensions of organization) is adequate and that it simply needs to be supplemented with new sociological understandings." Attempts to combine these is productive, he believes, of conflict.

Specifically, evaluating the present thinking, he suggested that we are not paying enough attention to the political and economic dimensions. Present human orientations to organization lack a "whole" organizational theory.

While we may take issue with the specific labels Bidwell used and the dimensions he proposed, it is not easy to ignore the fact that a student of educational organization whose work, like that of Gross, emphasized the sociological or human side of administration now concludes that sociological formulations of organization theory are incomplete.

Several other writings might be mentioned, among them the model proposed by French²⁹ for studying social perception by examining the interaction among the power structure of the organization, the communications network, and the opinions of group members. However, the common theme which can be seen running through the writings of a number of students of organization

²⁸ Charles E. Bidwell, "A New Dilemma in Administration," *Harvard Educational Review*, 26: 388-404, Fall 1956.

²⁹ John R. P. French, Jr., "A Formal Theory of Social Power," *Psychological Review*, May 1956, pp. 181-194.

in a variety of fields is a rising interest in the study of change. For this, a molar view of the relationships and the interaction among organizational elements is necessary.

In our field of educational administration, two approaches to molar thinking have appeared. The tridimensional-trirelational taxonomy suggested by Davies and Livingston (and modified by them in recent writings) represents a search for interrelated factors associated with organization. As a taxonomy, however, it is basically static. At a more advanced level, Paul R. Mort³⁰ has been attempting to relate a series of intraorganizational and extraorganizational values quantitatively to a measure of school quality. His effort, so far as is known, represents the pioneering and almost exclusive attempt in our field at an all-encompassing theory based upon quantified evidence.

Now let us take a brief over-all view of the scene. We moved first through a period characterized by a rather static view of organization based upon logical forms and technical skills and concerned primarily with things. Recently the field has developed a more flexible concept of organization, with emphasis on people and psychological and sociological forms. Present signs point to a new approach to the study of organization. This approach, we have suggested, will bring a molar orientation to organizational study, paying particular attention to functional relationships and interdependencies as revealed by studies of change in relationships both inside the organization and between the organization and its social environment.

We shall need, however, to face up to many problems before the third approach can really come of age. Problems in connection with our concepts, taxonomies, methodology or research, and even our basic approach confront us. Our concepts and our research design, for example, must provide us with tools for studying movements or process rather than matter. In terms of taxonomies, a number of problems beset us, but the gravest of these is the need to distinguish between genotypic and phenotypic classifications, especially where interactive groups are involved. Numerous methodological problems are before us. However, some more important needs may be seen in the obvious requirements of a true study of dynamics in organization. The need for team rather than individual research will grow. Closer observations of organizational behavior will have to be undertaken. More quantified data and mathematical formulations will appear. Finally, our basic approach must look toward a philosophy (or philosophies) of organization as a rationale for holistic or molar organizational theories and studies.

The problems are not small. But the excitement of entering a new era in a field of study is, at least for its devotees, more than compensation for the difficulties ahead. The pictures that we have had of our organizations have been incomplete, perhaps as incomplete as those which the blind men gained of the elephant. For us, however, a clear view of the whole animal may be just over the horizon.

³⁰ For the best synthesis of published materials to date see *Administration for Adaptability*, Donald H. Ross, ed. (New York: Metropolitan School Study Council, 1958).

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE STUDY OF ADMINISTRATION: A REPLY TO "FERMENT IN THE STUDY OF ORGANIZATION"

Wallace S. Sayre

IT IS GRATIFYING to see teachers of educational administration reaching out, examining the ideas and hunches of other fields of study and inquiry. Each discipline or professional group has strong aspirations toward self-sufficiency; it is educational to be occasionally reminded of the limitations and costs of this aspiration.

In responding to Dr. Davies' discussion, I should like to suggest the addition of two other "dimensions" or "stages" in the study of organization. It is not easy to fit them in the Davies chronological scale, but perhaps we can think of them as closely related to his third stage.

The first of my additions is *decision-making*. Some of our most illuminating and rewarding efforts to study organization have used the decisions, or alternatively the decision-making machinery, of an organization as the focus of research attention. This kind of study catches the organization in motion, reveals its internal power structure, measures the values and techniques of its leaders, and gives us some qualitative tests of organizational performance. We have had valuable abstract studies of decisions as a form of organizational behavior, such as those by Herbert Simon; we have the rightly famous case studies of business organization decisions, done under the leadership of the Harvard School of Business; and we have the more recent case studies in public administration (almost a hundred of them) made by the Inter-University Case Program.

Before I discuss my second addition, I should like to note that all four of these dimensions (Davies' three and my first addition) tend to emphasize values *internal* to the organization. These internalized values are important, especially to the members of the organization, but they are not all-important. We

My second addition emphasizes the *external* values of organization. This aspect of might call it the *responsibility and accountability* dimension. This aspect of the study of organization is concerned with the questions: For what is the organization responsible? To whom is it accountable? The organization exists in and for the society of which it is a part. What are the lines of assignment and accounting which link the organization to its societal environment? All organizations appear to have tendencies toward autonomy. How are these tendencies to be treated?

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As a student of political science, I cannot forego the opportunity to talk about the external value problems of organization. To an audience of professors of educational administration, a political scientist cannot resist the temptation to discuss the responsibility and accountability system of a school district as an organization. I shall do this by presenting a set of hypotheses and propositions for empirical research, analysis, study, and reflection—I would hope by members of this audience.

I

A school district organization—like any other governmental, administrative, or organizational unit—lives within a “field of forces” which determines its strategic and tactical opportunities for survival, or effectiveness, or goal-accomplishment.

For the board of education in a typical school district we may describe this field of forces as containing the following major elements:

1. The existing “rules of the game”: constitutional arrangements, statutes, “fixed” premises about schools and education (for example, local responsibility, separation from rest of government, desirability of professionalization).
2. The state government: governor, legislature, courts, State Department of Education, other administrative agencies (labor, welfare, commerce, and so on).
3. The local government (county, city, town, or village): executive, legislative and other government agencies (police, magistrates, health, welfare).
4. The interest groups: parents, religious groups, communication media, taxpayer groups, patriotic groups.
5. The political parties.
6. The educational bureaucracy: superintendent, principals, and teachers.

II

The educational bureaucracy—like any other close-knit, self-conscious bureaucracy, especially a public bureaucracy—works persistently toward stabilizing its relationship to each of the other elements in its field of forces in ways that will maximize its own autonomous role—in other words, toward self-direction, toward its own responsibility for all crucial decisions, and toward accountability to its own code of behavior.

1. It works toward “rules of the game” which enhance the autonomy of the educational bureaucracy: separation of the schools from other government processes and institutions (separate elections, separate budgets and taxes, separate district boundaries); control of training and qualifications by a state agency dominated by the educators; detailed statutes consolidating its gains.

2. The educational bureaucracy works to neutralize those agencies of state government it cannot effectively influence: legislatures and courts are trusted more than are governors; the educational bureaucracy pressures the legis-

lature as does any other interest group, and asks for explicit statutory arrangements which will inhibit executive discretion and which the courts will enforce.

It seeks also to give maximum autonomy to its own "citadel" agency—the State Education Department—and to limit the powers of others (governor, other administrative agencies) to influence that citadel.

3. The educational bureaucracy seeks to isolate the school district and itself from the other institutions of local government (mayors, councils, boards of supervisors, other administrative agencies—such as police, welfare, local courts) as a way of achieving optimum autonomy.

It seeks also to neutralize and limit the board of education in its powers to intervene—to convert the board into a ratifier of the proposals and advice of the educational bureaucracy, and into a buffer between it and other elements in the educational bureaucracy's field of forces.

4. The educational bureaucracy seeks also to minimize the influence of some interest groups and to co-opt other groups into its own leadership structure (for example, the parents organizations). Its chief protections against most interest groups are placed in the state statutes, in the rules of the state educational agency and its powers to enforce the statutes and rules, in its own cohesiveness as a bureaucratic group, and in its tendencies and skills in attacking all interest groups (other than itself) as "special interests" and as enemies of the children.

But the strategies and tactics of concession are not unknown to the educational bureaucracy—and bargaining is done at the least cost possible.

5. The educational bureaucracy has found many useful techniques in its efforts to ostracize the political parties. Separate elections and nonpartisan ballots for school board elections are the main strategic devices for this purpose, assisted by concentration upon "good men" and anemic issues.

III

The educational bureaucracy—like other public and private bureaucracies—has created a body of doctrine, a set of serviceable myths, to assist it in its drive toward autonomy and self-direction and toward that optimum status in which it can supervise itself in terms of its own values. The main elements of self-serving doctrine and myth are:

1. Education is a unique governmental function requiring unique constitutional, statutory, political, and administrative arrangements.

2. Education is such a unique function and mission that the members of the profession must be trained in their own separate institutions, set apart from the training institutions of other groups. Its new members must also be admitted under the supervision of its own governmental agency.

3. Educators are the only proper guardians of the educational function; their autonomy in this guardianship is essential to the public interest.

4. The community, when it confronts educational questions, should be an unstructured audience of citizens. These citizens should not be influenced in

their responses to educational questions by their structured associations or organizations: not as members of interest groups of any kind (save perhaps in parents' groups) or as members of a political party.

5. The unstructured community will be wisest in its responses to educational questions when it listens to the educators, to the "experts" in education.

6. Education must be "taken out of politics" because political parties and politicians are institutions not to be trusted. (This myth is not reserved for bureaucratic strategy only; it is taught to the children too. Thus, the children of democracy are taught to distrust one of the basic institutions of a democracy.)

These imperfectly stated hypotheses and propositions suggest questions about organizations which emphasize the values and curiosities of those who stand outside the membership of an organization, who are its beneficiaries or its victims, who are as much concerned with the organization's contributions to, or extractions from, the rest of society as they are with the comforts and conveniences of the organization's own members.

These hypotheses and propositions can be applied to any organization, not merely to a school district and its educational bureaucracy. They are, in fact, the kinds of questions political scientists persistently apply to all kinds of organs of public administration.

ROLE CONFLICT IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION —

Our society is composed of groups and individuals. The work of the school administrator is to assist the individuals in his institution, in this case the school, to work harmoniously and cooperatively together toward mutually acceptable goals. The following selection by R. J. Hills, Midwest Administration Center Staff Associate, is based upon a theoretical framework provided by J. W. Getzels and associates as well as a number of research studies carried on by the Midwest Administration Center at the University of Chicago.

A NEW CONCEPT OF STAFF RELATIONS

R. J. Hills

WHAT ADMINISTRATOR has not wondered why teachers seem more satisfied under certain kinds of leadership than others; why conflicts between teacher and administrator arise; why some teachers are rated more

SOURCE: From the *Administrator's Notebook*, March 1960. Copyright 1960 by the Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago. Reprinted by permission of the *Administrator's Notebook*.

effective than others; and whether or not these problems simply arise out of human perversity or are subject to logical explanations. These questions are of vital concern both to the practitioner and the researcher in educational administration.

A partial explanation for our inability to answer such questions may be the fact that they are so very interrelated. It is quite impossible to talk about teacher satisfaction without saying something about leadership, just as it is quite impossible to talk about effectiveness without saying something about efficiency.

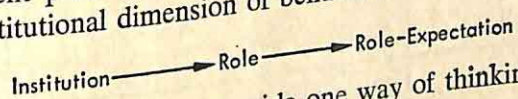
This problem of interrelatedness coupled with the fact that we have had no really systematic way of looking at the issues—no theoretical framework if you will—has effectively blocked all efforts to clarify them. However, just in such a framework has been provided by Getzels and Guba, whose work in conjunction with the Midwest Administration Center has resulted in the formulation of a theoretical model designed to clarify issues and to stimulate research.

Our purpose in presenting the theoretical model is not the hope that administrators will become theorists—they have neither the time nor the need to do so—but that familiarity with the model will provide them with fresh insights into the kinds of problems they face every day.

The basic notion of this formulation is that people who come together to work and live interactively tend to establish institutions. These institutions are organized agencies designed to carry out specialized functions for the social system, e.g., educating, governing, and policing. Such institutions or organized agencies can be differentiated and analyzed in terms of their constituent roles (teacher, principal, pupil, etc.). Obviously the roles comprising an educational institution are quite different from the roles comprising a political institution.

Differentiation through an examination of roles is a fairly crude way of analyzing institutions. A more specific analysis may be made by using the analytic unit of the role—the role-expectation. For each role within the institution there are normative expectations which specify the actions or behaviors that are expected of the individual who is incumbent in that role. The teacher, for example, is expected to perform certain kinds of functions. He is also expected to act in certain specific and differentiated ways in his relations with colleagues, superiors, and pupils.

The elements discussed thus far may be placed on an axis as illustrated below. As indicated by the arrows, each successive element is the analytic unit or component part of the preceding element. This line represents the normative or institutional dimension of behavior.

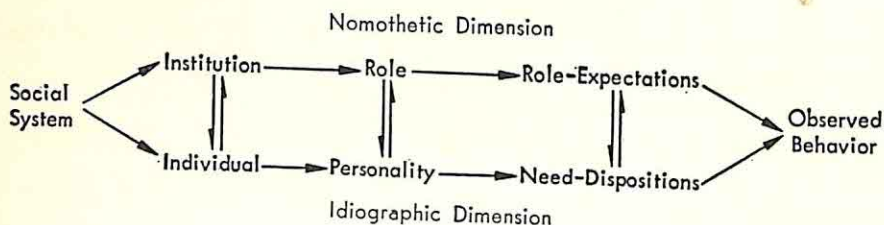


The concepts illustrated above provide one way of thinking about administration. In this sense administration is viewed as the process of allocating and integrating roles, personnel, and facilities to achieve the goals of the school. But this is only one of several dimensions which must be considered if we

are to understand the factors which contribute to conflicts, effectiveness, efficiency, and satisfaction.

Just as there are institutions defined by roles and role-expectations, there are also individuals defined by personalities and need-dispositions. The concept "need-disposition" may be defined as the tendency of individuals to need or to be disposed to act in certain ways, e.g., to be aggressive, to be submissive, to achieve.

These elements may be termed the personal dimension of behavior, and may be placed on an axis coordinate to the institutional axis in order to form a model of the school as a social system.

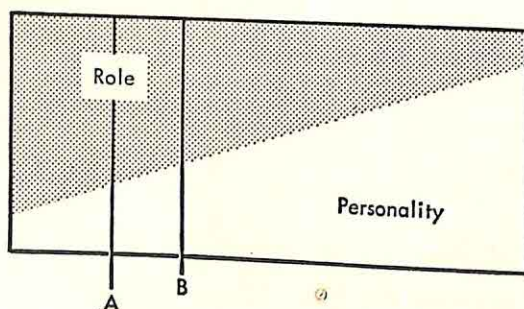


The basic idea expressed here is that the behavior of an individual within the social system (the school in this case) results both from the expectations held for him by others and his own personality needs:

That is to say, social behavior results as the individual attempts to cope with an environment composed of patterns of expectations for his behavior in ways consistent with his own independent pattern of needs.¹

It is readily apparent that roles differ in the extent to which the behavior of the incumbent is governed by role-expectations and personality needs. For instance, the expectations held by administrators for physical education teachers are much less explicit than are those held for chemistry teachers. Ordinarily, the physical education teacher is permitted a greater degree of freedom of action, and consequently is able to define his own role to a greater extent than is the chemistry teacher.

A simple graphic representation demonstrates these differences clearly:



¹ J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guba, "Social Behavior and the Administrative Process," *The School Review*, LXV (Winter, 1957), 423-441.

Line A represents the role of the chemistry teacher. Note the relative amounts contributed to behavior by role and personality. In contrast, line B represents the role of physical education teacher. Here it is clear the personality factors contribute in greater proportion than they do in the case of the chemistry teacher.

As Getzels and Guba have pointed out, the relevance of this model for administration becomes apparent when it is seen that the administrative process deals with the mediation between institutional expectations and personality need to achieve the goals of the school.

The unique task of administration, at least with respect to staff relations, is just this: to integrate the demands of the institution and the demands of the staff members in a way that is at once organizationally productive and individually fulfilling.²

Within the framework outlined here, we may proceed to a reexamination of certain recurring administrative problems and to a clarification of the issues involved.

INDIVIDUAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CONFLICT

Ideally, the individual should be able to fulfill both the expectations held for him by the institution and the needs of his own personality. Obviously, this can be the case only when the expectations and needs are perfectly congruent—a situation rarely, if ever, found in practice. There is inevitably a greater or lesser amount of strain or conflict between the individual and the demands of the institution. The model, as outlined above, points to three primary sources of conflict.

Role-personality conflicts occur in situations in which there are discrepancies between the expectations held for a given role and the personality needs of the role incumbent. Most administrators will be able to recall instances in which a superintendent, a principal, or a teacher, each of whom is expected to be dominant and forceful in his relations with subordinates, was incapable of being so. The individual in this situation is caught in a dilemma; if he chooses to act in accordance with the expectations, he may do so badly and quite unhappily. If, on the other hand, he chooses to act as he needs and wants to act, he may be criticized severely.

Role conflicts may arise as a consequence of differences of opinion among the members of a group which holds expectations for a given role.

For example, the principal of the school may be expected by some teachers to visit them regularly for constructive help and by others to trust them as professional personnel not in need of such supervision.³

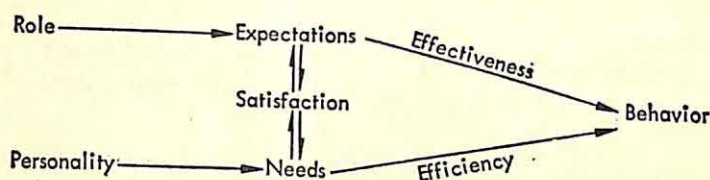
² *Ibid.*, p. 430.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

Still another type of role conflict may exist when two or more roles are occupied by the same person at the same time. The counselor who is expected to be a disciplinarian may face this problem.

EFFECTIVENESS, EFFICIENCY, AND SATISFACTION

A perennial administrative problem in any organization is the maintenance of staff effectiveness, efficiency, and satisfaction. The Getzels-Guba model makes possible clear-cut distinctions between these vague and interchangeably-used terms. It may be recalled that the basic idea expressed in the model is that behavior derives simultaneously from interactions among personality needs and role-expectations. Effectiveness, efficiency, and satisfaction are relationships among these primary elements of the model.



Effectiveness ratings are usually based on the behavior of the individual being rated. In the Getzels-Guba formulation, however, behavior alone is insufficient. The criterion must be behavior *relative* to the expectations held by the rater. Consequently, the same behavior may be labeled "effective" and "ineffective" simultaneously as a result of different expectations held by different persons. As an example, the principal's behavior may be rated highly effective by the superintendent, but at the same time be rated highly ineffective by the teachers.

Efficiency is a relationship between needs and behavior. Behavior is efficient to the extent that it is congruent with needs. In this sense efficiency refers to the absence of strain which results from an individual being compelled by expectations to behave in a manner that conflicts with personality needs. Behavior may, therefore, be both inefficient and effective at the same time, as in the case of the teacher who performs as his principal expects him to but does so unwillingly.

Satisfaction may be defined as a relationship between expectations and needs. When the institutional expectations and personality needs are not congruent, satisfaction cannot be maximized. For example, the teacher who has a high need for autonomy is not likely to be satisfied under close supervision.

LEADERSHIP STYLES

Within the framework described here, three distinct leadership styles may be identified. It should be noted that the three styles do not represent differences in goals but are three modes of achieving the same goal.

The first style of leadership emphasizes the demands of the institution, i.e., it emphasizes the role and the role expectations rather than the personality and needs of the individual. Roles are clearly defined and every individual is required to adhere, in minute detail, to the expectations. In short, "the obligation of the follower is to do things 'by the book'; the obligation of the leader is to 'write the book.'"⁴ The administrator who emphasizes this style may become nothing less than a martinet.

The second leadership style emphasizes the demands of individual staff members and places emphasis on their personalities and needs rather than on roles and role-expectations.

The basic assumption is that the greatest accomplishment will occur, not from enforcing adherence to rigorously defined roles, but from making it possible for each person to contribute what is most relevant for him.⁵

This style is not less goal-oriented than is the emphasis on institutional demands. It is simply seen as the most expeditious route to the goals of the school. The danger in this case is that the administrator may become nothing more than a "nice guy."

The third style of leadership is intermediate between the other two; consequently it involves the definition of expectations to some degree of sharpness, but not to the extent that appropriate need-satisfying behavior is prohibited. It is not, strictly speaking, a middle ground between institutional expectations and personal needs, but rather one in which expectations or needs are emphasized as the situation requires.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

The original formulation of the Getzels-Guba theory, as reported here, has been followed by a wide range of research studies which have borne out many of the preceding theoretical derivations. These studies are too numerous to review here and many of them have been reported in previous issues of the *Administrator's Notebook*. We will cite a few examples:

Ferneau⁶ conducted a study which clearly indicated that agreement between administrators and consultants concerning the role of the consultant led to greater satisfaction for both participants than when the administrator and the consultant perceived the role of the consultant differently.

Moyer,⁷ in a second study along similar lines, investigated the degree of congruence between the expectations of teachers and administrators for administrative leadership and the effect of divergence of these expectations upon

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

⁶ Elmer Ferneau, "Role-Expectations in Consultations" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Education, University of Chicago, 1954).

⁷ Donald C. Moyer, "Teachers' Attitudes toward Leadership as They Relate to Teacher Satisfaction" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Education, University of Chicago, 1954).

teacher satisfaction. The results were consistent with the hypothesis derived from the model; the greater the agreement between teacher and principal on the expectations for leadership, the more favorable the attitudes of the teacher toward the work situation.

Campbell⁸ studied the effect on teacher satisfaction of varying degrees of agreement between what teachers wanted to do in the classroom and the principal's expectations for their behavior. Teacher satisfaction was found to be significantly lower in conflict situations (when the teacher's wants and the principal's expectations were not congruent).

While the research possibilities of the original formulation have not been exhausted, new insights have been provided and additional questions have been raised by Getzels' and Thelen's⁹ extension of the model in a recent publication. Even though the authors direct their attention toward the application of the model to the social relationships within the classroom, important implications regarding the interlocking relationship between the school and the community are also revealed. Research projects now under way, and others being planned, will explore some of these areas.

IMPLICATIONS

As Getzels and Guba have indicated, a knowledge or a manipulation of concepts of the sort described here will not automatically improve administrative practice. We firmly believe, however, that the application of systematic social science concepts can be of considerable assistance to the practicing school administrator. First, it can provide the administrator with a framework within which he may systematize many seemingly unrelated experiences and observations. It can provide a reference point, a bench mark as it were, to which he may relate a wide range of knowledge. Second, the clarity and precision with which these concepts are defined can enable the administrator to think about and discuss ideas which, while already intuitively known to him, were somewhat vague and ambiguous. Third, the administrator may find such concepts useful in revealing his blind spots—situations and factors to which he might profitably devote more attention.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. List and discuss the independent forces which seem to have converged at roughly the same time to form the basis for the study of a theory of school administration. These forces are listed in the first selec-

⁸ Merton V. Campbell, "Teacher-Principal Agreement on the Teacher Role," *Administrator's Notebook*, VII (February, 1959).

⁹ J. W. Getzels and Herbert A. Thelen, "The Classroom Group as a Unique Social System," *The Dynamics of Instructional Groups*, National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook, 1960, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 53-82.

tion. In what way is the search for a theory of administration an attempt to make administration "a science"?

2. Why are empirical approaches to the study of school administration inadequate today? How did this approach contribute to a better understanding of school administration in an earlier day?

3. Discuss "Pieces of the Mosaic" in the first selection in the light of an overall theory of school administration. Do these pieces seem to be ingredients which cannot be combined to produce such a theory?

4. What problems are encountered by those who would like to develop an all-encompassing theory of school administration? Are these insurmountable difficulties?

5. Compare the tri-dimensional concept with the three-skill method as outlined in the Griffiths selection. In what ways are these models comparable and in what ways are they different?

6. Explain the nomothetic-ideographic model developed at the Midwest Administration Center. How can the model help explain role conflicts as seen by the superintendent, the principal, the teachers, and members of the school community?

7. Draw up a sheet on which are contained the models, or taxonomies, contained in this book. Include POSDCORB, the *laissez-faire-authoritarian* continuum, the Competency Pattern, and any other models contained herein. In what ways are these models, or frames of reference, alike and in what ways are they different? Explain how each contributes to our better understanding of school administration as an emerging profession.

8. Determine the acceptability among practicing superintendents of theory as revealed in the study reported, beginning on page 107, in *Professional Administrators for America's Schools*, the 1960 yearbook of the AASA. What does this report reveal about the public image of the school administrator?

FURTHER READINGS

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CHAPTER 13

Evaluation of School Administration

SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

During the early months of the Kellogg Studies period, great optimism was shown among those studying school administration toward the "success" approach to a better understanding of "what makes superintendents tick." All that we have to do, they said, is to find some successful superintendents, analyze them, and, presto!, we have the ingredients which make up effective administration. The elements which are found to exist in successful superintendents can then be analyzed among inductees into graduate schools, and what they lack at the time of induction they can be taught while attending the university. It's as simple as that!

Alas, it was NOT as simple as that. A question arose about success in school administration—what was it? Was the gray-haired superintendent who had spent the past 30 years in the same small town, patiently dealing with all the problems which face small town administrators, a success? Or was the success the man who had risen to become the general superintendent of a large city school system? How can one measure *success* in school administration, a first step in the process of using the "success" approach as a frame of reference?

Early studies utilizing men said by their colleagues to be "successful" superintendents tended to shed little light on the problem. They were as unlike as any group of citizens can be—short, tall, lean, fat, young, old, former coaches, bandmen, social studies instructors, from small or large families, of differing faiths and cultural backgrounds. And so the "success" approach yielded limited insight to the problem of "what makes an administrator tick?"

Nevertheless, the need for evaluating school administration continues. Communities in which superintendents work continue to ask, "Do we

have a good school administrator at the helm? Is our superintendent doing his job?" In a profession as young and diversified as school administration, people cannot be sure. And the dilemma of evaluation in educational administration continues.

This chapter deals with the evaluative function—with how well or how poorly school administrators perform in this country. The question of evaluation is obviously a value judgment and answers may differ from person to person according to their conceptions of what constitutes good educational administration. Is it related to the saving of school money? Is the good administrator one who puts the welfare of the children first? Is effective administration measurable immediately or can it only be judged in its long-term effects upon society? These are the questions with which the evaluative function is concerned.

What difficulties arise when one attempts to find the meaning of "success" in school administration? The following selection describes a study at Stanford University undertaken in the early days of the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration (CPEA).

ADMINISTRATIVE-SUCCESS CRITERIA

Arthur P. Coladarci

ANALYTIC and experimental studies in school administration have increased markedly in both number and rigor during the past few years. An examination of the products available thus far suggests the optimism that we will soon have some systematic clarification in an area that in the past has been forced to rely heavily upon *ad hoc* procedures and unsupported knowledge-claims.

The present status of research in school administration also suggests, however, that one of the most basic of the perennial problems in educational research has received little explicit attention—the definition of the success criterion. Where the nature of this criterion is not ignored completely, it is too often ambiguous, professionally irrelevant, and even spurious.

It is axiomatic that any attempt to predict to a criterion demands a *clear* criterion. Yet we continue to find the criterion defined at such a level of abstraction as to make its interpretation difficult and its prediction either impossible or inevitable, depending upon the persuasion of the researcher. Furthermore, when the criterion purports to refer to a professional (i.e.,

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applied) context, it seems logically defensible to hold that the criterion must be both clear and relevant to that context. Although the requirement of clarity may be satisfied by operational definition, the requirement of professional relevance is not so easily met. Indeed, a considerable portion of research in administrative success reflects an implicit assumption that a clear criterion is *pari passu* a relevant one.

At Stanford, under the aegis of the CPEA, Pacific Southwest Region, considerable attention has been directed at what appears to be a most evident and immediate case in point with regard to the question of criterion relevancy in studies of administrative success: the tendency to "resolve" the criterion problem by seeking out the success perceptions held by a group or groups of persons identified in terms of the professional roles and statuses held (e.g., school board members, city superintendents, community opinion leaders, teachers, etc.). Two questions arise on logical grounds. The first is largely a technical one and is generally recognized: is the locus of the population group clearly defined and adequately sampled? The second question is only infrequently asked and is the one to which we address ourselves: is the group being polled sufficiently homogeneous with respect to a basic educational frame-of-reference to make the collection of perceptions educationally meaningful and relevant? Our contention is that homogeneity of basic educational frames-of-reference (philosophy of education, nature of educational objectives, role of education in a social process, etc.) seldom if ever obtains when a group is identified only on the basis of the general professional or civic roles of its members. The research in progress strengthens this conviction clearly.

If the reference group being polled comprises a multiplicity of frames-of-reference, it follows that the customary differences found among them with respect to what constitutes success behavior may be a direct reflection of the differing conceptions of educational purposes, functions, etc. And, if the latter condition holds, the usual procedure of identifying the most common or "average" conception of success behavior as the most valid one is, at best, spurious and, at worst, misleading. What is clearly called for is the kind of analyses of these perceptions of success that establishes them as relevant to given educational frames-of-reference. Such an approach enhances the meaningfulness of the identified behaviors when they are subsequently used as operationally defined criteria in prediction studies.

A number of related studies, in the forms of dissertation and staff research, are directed to some questions that may be specified out of the foregoing general concern: (1) How may basic educational frames-of-reference be identified? (2) How much homogeneity in frames-of-reference obtains in role-defined educational groups? (3) Are there systematically different perceptions of what constitutes success behavior on the part of individuals with systematically different educational frames-of-reference?

The question of procedures for the economical identification of the basic, educational frame-of-reference held by the perceiver is prior to and the most difficult of these questions. At the moment, we are using two approaches, one of which is an ambitious "global" approach and the other a partial, more

immediate approach. The "global" attempt has involved the interviewing of each reference-group member for the purposes of identifying what he conceives to be the major purposes of the public schools generally, and the purposes of the particular administrative role under examination, the eliciting of these responses at meaningful levels of abstraction, and the ordering of them in terms of current systematic philosophies of education or other taxonomies relevant to education and to the particular administrative role involved. Although this is a coarse procedure at the moment and fraught with categorization and communication problems, preliminary data indicate that such responses can be categorized and that these categories bear some identifiable relationship to conceptions of what constitutes success behavior in administration. The other approach, more discrete in nature, is the use of the *Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory* and the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey *Study of Values*. Although these two instruments cannot be thought of as measures of the general construct we have called "the basic educational frame-of-reference," they appear to serve our purposes, in that the score categories derived from them appear to have a better-than-chance relationship to perceptions of administrative success behavior.

The "critical incident technique" has constituted the method for identifying the perceptions of administrative success held by members of the reference groups which have been studied. This technique, amply described and discussed elsewhere,¹ appears to minimize the "trait" responses and ambiguities characteristic of direct solicitations of perceived criteria. Using this technique, we have and are analyzing perceptions of what constitutes success in each of the following roles: elementary principal, secondary principal, city superintendent, rural superintendent, and elementary supervisor. For each of these roles we are identifying, through the use of the critical incident technique, the success requirements perceived by one or more of the following reference groups: elementary principals, secondary principals, superintendents, school board members, elementary teachers, supervisors, and teacher-educators. These perceptions of success requirements for each of the administrative roles are then analyzed with regard to: (1) between-group differences in perceived requirements, (2) within-group differences, and (3) the relationship between perceived success requirements and the frame-of-reference of the perceiver, within groups and across groups.

Although this group of studies is still in progress, two preliminary observations seem to be tenable:

(1) The perceptions of what constitutes administrative success vary systematically among reference groups. That is, for instance, teachers and supervisors at the elementary level differ in significant (and often contradictory) ways in their perceptions of what constitutes success in the elementary principal role.

(2) Within-group variations in perceptions of administrative success, in considerable degree, can be related to variations in basic frames-of-reference.

¹ John C. Flanagan, "The Critical Incident Technique," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1954, 51: 327-358.

This suggests that differences in opinion about success behavior cannot be attributed totally to "error"—they are, in part, functions of more basic and more important differences; we are seeking a "will-o-the-wisp" when we limit our search for criteria merely to the perceptions of what constitutes success behavior. The relevancy of a criterion perception is not clear until there is some identification of the frame-of-reference to which it is relevant. Attempts to define operational criteria of success for use in administration research by polling a reference group (even "a group of experts"), should be extended to include the identification of the frame-of-reference of the individual who is offering his perceptions. If this is not done we will continue to add to the rather large pile of interesting but useless educational *information*, instead of contributing to a fund of educational knowledge.

MOST EFFECTIVE-LEAST EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATORS

Another promising approach to the evaluation of school administration is the comparative study, in which descriptions of the "most effective" administrator are compared with those of the "least effective" administrator. The following selection contains a report of such a study.

THE BEHAVIORAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EFFECTIVE EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS

Ralph B. Kimbrough

THE PROBLEM of selecting school principals, supervisors and various administrative assistants has plagued school superintendents and boards of education for many years. School superintendents often find themselves in a state of indecision when forced to decide among numerous applicants for an administrative position. Many applicants may appear equally desirable "on paper" and seem to be a good bet in an interview situation. All too often the superintendent of schools may decide among "equally qualified" applicants on the basis of "experience" or subjective impression. Subsequently he may find that he has selected a person ill-fitted for the position.

Professors of school administration are or should be faced with the problem of selecting prospective good school administrators. Oftentimes the decision is made on standards of academic proficiency as measured by one or more

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objective tests. Rigid adherence to academic proficiency may turn up good prospects, but also among the lot are numerous "odd balls," misfits or persons who are for other reasons unsuccessful as administrators. Recognizing this problem many departments of school administration have added interviews, statements of references and other such devices in an attempt to get judgments of personality attributes. These attempts are often fraught with subjectivity because persons interviewing applicants possess no body of proven criteria regarding the characteristics necessary for effective school administration.

Fortunately, more and more research is being aimed at defining the kind of person who is likely to be effective as a school administrator. The staff of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision at the University of Tennessee has conducted research for the past six years dealing with the question of what behavioral characteristics differentiate between effective and ineffective school administrators. The Tennessee project, supported jointly by the University of Tennessee and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, has revealed some promising findings.

The Tennessee Staff began with the assumption that there are behavioral characteristics which can be described which differentiate between effective and ineffective school administrators. In approaching the task of defining effective and ineffective behavior, the Tennessee research staff attempted to define behavior which was most basic to the personality structure of the individual in terms of the job to be performed. The staff went far beyond earlier attempts to define personal effectiveness in terms of such things as dress, general poise with people, public speaking ability, intelligence, and other general qualitative descriptions.

The first step taken in the Tennessee project was to involve numerous educators and representatives from basic disciplines in an attempt to gain consensus regarding behavioral statements which might differentiate among effective and ineffective performance for school administrators. This involved a careful analysis of previous research dealing with the problem. The statements which emerged were subsequently incorporated in an instrument which became known as the Tennessee Rating Guide. The staff has invested much time and effort in determining the validity of this rating instrument.

VALIDITY OF THE RATING GUIDE

The Tennessee Staff began early in the project to put the original rating instrument to the acid test in the field to determine its validity. The first guide consisted of seven divisions with more than 185 cumbersome statements representing varying levels of effectiveness. The present guide known as the Tennessee Rating Guide consists of six divisions and 125 discrete statements of varying degrees of effectiveness.

A study, typical of one approach to validate the Tennessee Rating Guide, involved asking three system-wide school administrators of a large school system to place school principals in their schools into three categories as follows: (1) The sixteen most effective principals in the system; (2) the sixteen least

effective principals in the system; and (3) those who appear to be neither particularly effective nor ineffective. The sixteen effective and sixteen ineffective principals were rated in the field on the Tennessee Rating Guide by persons who were unaware of how the principals had been placed by the system-wide administrators. These data were carefully analyzed to determine which items on the rating guide clearly differentiated between the effective and ineffective principals in the study.

Another approach to validate the Tennessee Rating Guide was national in scope. Professors of school administration at various institutions of higher learning in the United States were asked to select three competent school administrators in their respective areas. Each of these "competent" school administrators was then asked to rate on the Tennessee Rating Guide one of the "most" effective and one of the "least" effective school administrators with whom he had worked.

Other studies to validate the Tennessee Rating Guide employed on-the-job descriptions of school administrative behavior in critical problem situations. Through using the results of the various validation studies the validity of the original rating instrument was greatly improved. In some instances items in the instrument failed to differentiate between groups of effective and ineffective school administrators. These items were deleted from the guide. All other items were carefully reviewed and revised in order to strengthen the instrument.

The validation studies, in addition to showing characteristics which did tend to differentiate, revealed certain areas of behavioral characteristics which failed to distinguish between the two extremes. In some instances this was due to inability to rate a person on the given series of statements. In others, even though reliable ratings were possible, the statements simply failed to show a differentiation between effective and ineffective school administrators. One such area was the condition of physical fitness or health. It now appears that many effective school administrators may be characterized as paying little attention to their health, some suffering conditions bordering on chronic health deficiencies. Of considerable surprise to the Tennessee research staff was the fact that certain categories of behavioral statements relative to emotional condition failed to show a distinction. For example, it has long been thought that recreational activity as a release from intellectual fatigue is necessary to effectiveness. The Tennessee study failed to support this notion.

STATEMENTS DESCRIPTIVE OF EFFECTIVE AND INEFFECTIVE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Enough data have been collected through the development and use of the Tennessee Rating Guide to allow considerable description of the effective school administrator in behavioral terms. In order to conceptualize the effective school leader, it will be necessary to deal also with the characteristics of ineffectiveness in the following paragraphs. In the space below there are two

columns of selected illustrative statements taken directly from the Tennessee Rating Guide. The first column is descriptive of the most effective administrators rated in the Tennessee study. The second column represents behavior of the least effective administrators studied.

Characteristics of Most Effective School Administrators

1. Steadily warm and appealing in relationship with others.
2. Consistently seeks and considers the opinions of others.
3. Moves surely and judiciously in effecting policies.
4. Urges the use of processes consistent with best democratic practices.
5. Recognizes and analyzes problems.
6. Is dependable and predictable in word and action.
7. Tends to try out new ideas after careful study and follows through on basis of experimental evidence.
8. Recognizes his mistakes and seeks to avoid repeating them.
9. Appears to meet crises with a contagious calmness; others feel at ease in his presence.
10. Places principle above his own personal advantages.
11. Chooses words which clearly convey thoughts; is able to express abstract ideas.
12. Is attentive in trying to grasp ideas expressed by others.
13. Facilitates a stimulating and well-ordered climate conducive to reaching group decisions.
14. Involves general public, staff members in major policy formulation.
15. Continually strives for careful group problem analysis; helps group recognize points of agreement.
16. Consistently seeks and employs new data.
17. Discusses intelligently major social, political and economic issues.

Characteristics of Least Effective School Administrators

1. Tends to be a lone wolf.
2. Generally ignores the viewpoints of others.
3. Tends to ignore or defer action on policies.
4. Uses any expedient method available to attain a predetermined end.
5. Tends not to recognize the existence of problems.
6. Supports conflicting ideas; action characterized by inconsistency.
7. Tends to operate within traditional practices or on basis of hunches.
8. Frequently makes the same mistake but seldom admits it.
9. Tends to be upset by everyday occurrences and keeps staff in continuous uproar.
10. Tends to weasel out of situations.
11. Expresses himself in a fuzzy, incomprehensible manner and tends to puzzle listeners concerning what he means.
12. Tends to listen only to himself.
13. Is either at a loss or monopolizes discussion when appointed official leader of a group.
14. Formulates policies himself; rarely discusses them with others.
15. Contributes little to help group arrive at a working consensus.
16. Disregards new data that challenge the status quo.
17. Does not seem to be informed about or interested in contemporary events.

*Characteristics of Most Effective
School Administrators**Characteristics of Least Effective
School Administrators*

18. Is aware of and actively concerned with desires and interests of community groups, agencies and organizations.

18. Considers the school an island that is competitive with non-educational groups.

The above statements are thirty-six of a possible 125 statements of varying effectiveness incorporated in the Tennessee Rating Guide. A person need not and probably could not exhibit the most effective behavior in all areas. However, studies using the instrument indicate that even though a person may be rated low in some instances, he must rate generally high on the total guide in order to be effective.

Through extensive on-the-job visitations to rate school administrators it is possible to cite instances in which effective and ineffective characteristics were in evidence. In the following sections a narrative description of both extremes is attempted.

EXAMPLE OF AN INEFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATOR

In the following paragraphs an account is given of a staff visit with a school principal who was judged ineffective by his superiors. A summary paragraph at the end of this section points to some behavioral statements in the Tennessee Rating Guide which partially characterize Principal A. The staff report of the visit with the ineffective principal follows:

We arrived at School X at 10:00 A.M. to spend a prearranged period of observation of the principal, Mr. A. Upon our arrival at the office the school clerk conducted a scurrying search for Mr. A. After several minutes of search, Mr. A was found helping the custodian start the lawn mower. Mr. A greeted us rather casually explaining, "I am rather busy trying to get things organized today." We soon felt that, even though our visit had been arranged at his convenience, Mr. A was slightly tense and uneasy at having to take time away from "his job." One of us started to explain that we could return later when the office phone rang.

Mr. A answered the phone and engaged in a strange conversation and ended up by saying, "Well, if they call you, guess California. What is your phone number and I will call you back when we find the answer." Replacing the phone Mr. A turned to us and asked, "Do you know which state has the longest federal highway?" Before we could respond the phone rang again and he engaged in a similar conversation and ended it by taking another phone number with the promise he would personally see that they got an answer within the next ten minutes. Turning to us again Mr. A started to explain that a local radio quiz was underway. We were interrupted by a seventh grade teacher announcing the arrival of four new seventh grade children. Mr. A quickly instructed the teacher to get the three seventh grade teachers together and "thresh out where to put them." He explained that he was rather busy and had to talk to some visitors today.

After a series of telephone calls involving the radio quiz program and the

recording of a long list of telephone numbers, another teacher hurried into the inner office and asked, "Mr. A, may I use the movie projector next period?" After some discussion Mr. A answered, "No, I think Mrs. Smith is going to use it."

Mr. A turned to speak to us again when the cafeteria manager interrupted. "Mr. A, did you order the groceries for tomorrow?" Mr. A excused himself to use the phone in the outer office and engaged in discussion with the cafeteria manager. During this time the school clerk conversed with us about how hard Mr. A worked to keep the school going and the fact that "... many teachers simply don't appreciate how much he does to help them. They are always bothering him and then talk about him to his back. That man really does work hard."

Mr. A returned and was about to be seated at his desk when a teacher interrupted saying, "Mr. A, Mrs. Smith says she is not going to use the projector next period. Would it be all right if I use it?" Mr. A hesitantly answered, "Yes, go ahead and use it then." Whereupon the teacher indicated several of the children in her room needed to get into the store. Checking his watch quickly Mr. A said to us apologetically, "You folks find yourself at home here. I open the store at this break every day. It will be only a few minutes."

During his absence the school clerk who had been puttering around among files in the office "filled us in" on some more of her opinions about the operation of the school. "The way some of these teachers harp about meetings. Mr. A has explained and explained that we don't have time to fool around with petty problems. We wouldn't have any problems if everyone would follow Mr. A's instructions. He just cannot seem to get them to understand. He worked all summer setting up the teachers handbook and they just don't appreciate it. He has used every faculty meeting this year explaining the handbook. It's all down there in black and white just like Professor B told it to him in class. Still these old moss backs just harp and harp. . . ."

Mr. A returned and joined the conversation. Among several things he stated, "Mrs. Bell (school clerk) is right. We really have no problems around here except poorly trained teachers. I have tried to tell those professors of yours up there that the University ought to lay off so much theory. Now I hired three teachers this year. They all looked well dressed, spoke nice and made good grades in college. But look what happened to two of them—complete flops. This happens to me over and over. Looks like you folks would learn some day."

At this point the teacher who had asked for the projector barged into the office and the following conversation took place:

"Mr. A, the projector is broken."

"Well Mrs. Staley, what is wrong with it."

"The sprocket is broken."

"Which one—the front one or the back one?"

"I don't know."

"Well, you folks excuse me. I will be back in a little while."

Before Mr. A could return to the inner office where we waited for him a teacher hailed him and a very interesting conversation occurred.

"Mr. A, I have been trying to see you about my field trip to the water . . ."

"Now, Mr. Barnes, I told you we had a policy against field trips."

"Mr. A, it's not in the handbook."

"Handbook! Handbook! All I hear is handbook, handbook. Now I think it's about time, Mr. Barnes, that you and I decide who is going to run this school."

My fifteen years experience compared to your measly one says I am principal of this school."

"But, Mr. A, I . . ."

"But! But! But! I get so fed up with everyone . . ."

"But, Mr. A, . . ."

"Confound it, shut up! I'm telling you that as long as I am principal, I am going to be principal. Now the policy is that there will be no field trips to the water works."

Mr. A had crescendoed into a shout by now and was figuratively "blowing his stack" at the young teacher.

Mr. A was hopping mad when Mrs. Poole, a parent, phoned complaining that her seventh grade youngster was placed in Mrs. Faire's room. "Now, Mrs. Poole, we did the best we could. . . . Well, in that case, I will see what I can do about it."

Principal A was one of the principals judged ineffective in one of the studies to validate the Tennessee Rating Guide. Repeated visits corroborated the above brief account and pointed to the following kinds of statements of behavioral characteristics: (1) Formulates policies himself (in the above incident Mr. A wrote a handbook and imposed it on teachers. In other instances Mr. A was observed to make policies in the absence of coöperative help from others); (2) Runs the whole show himself (No delegation of responsibility in evidence in the above account of Principal A. Things appear to be in a state of disorganization); (3) Attempts to maintain outward calmness but explodes about trivial details (Interviews with teachers indicated the emotional outburst over the field trip in the above described episode was not uncommon); (4) Frequently makes the same mistake but seldom admits it (Mr. A censured colleges in general for his own repeated mistakes in hiring teachers). These statements characterizing Mr. A are only a few which are incorporated in the Tennessee Rating Guide.

STATEMENT CHARACTERIZING AN EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATOR

Principal A in the above episode has opposites as revealed by many observed incidents of effective administrative performances. During the study of school administrators in the field, the Tennessee Research Staff made it a practice to talk with several persons in job association with the person being observed. A teacher gave the following narration of his principal:

Mr. X is the best principal with whom I have worked. I just put him at the top of the list. He is great.

I can give you one good example of why I think he is such a good principal. If we have a disagreement he takes it to staff meeting and we finally thrash it out. Just last spring we got all bothered about grades. Some teachers wanted to record letter grades and others wanted numerical marks. Mr. X came into faculty meeting and stated the problem. After talking about the problem briefly, he just leaned back in his seat and asked, "What do you want to do about it?"

You should hear one of these faculty meetings sometime—downright comical

when you look back on them. Those old sisters get to going and shake their fists at each other. You have never heard such an argument. Mr. X just leans back and lets them go. But the surprising thing about it is we finally come out of these things happy about the whole matter. A decision is made. People seldom feel hurt after it is over. If you had told me a person could do this way before he came here, I would have said you were crazy. He has a hundred per cent backing of his faculty. Students like him too.

He always works to improve things. This school was run down at the heels when he came here. Parents were not interested. Students were unimpressed with school. Teachers were just going through the motions. Largely through his help we are now organized and at least think we know what we are doing. The gripe sessions are gone. Oh! of course, we complain about petty things, but I mean the chronic complaints.

For one thing the custodians were always fighting among each other and with teachers. The school building was filthy. You know what I mean. The toilets smelled to high Heaven. Mr. X talked to the custodians first. They began to work on a way to divide up the work. Mr. X was instrumental in getting someone from the state department to come in and of all things they had a custodian's school for the whole county. Then we had a joint meeting of the faculty and custodians. Even some students were invited. Mr. X presented a plan for keeping the building in order that he had worked out with the custodians. They had the neatest drawings of the school you have ever seen with indications of who would be responsible for what. Although it looked good to all of us, we thought it was just another straw in the wind—would soon blow over. It did not. We have the cleanest building in the county. He went to bat for us and got the building painted too. He is not afraid of going after anything for us if we believe in it. There is no more of this on again off again big I and little you.

From the descriptions of Mr. X by one teacher, one can begin to see several characteristics that differentiate Mr. X from Mr. A in the preceding section. It should be emphasized that such reports were only used to corroborate actual observations of behavior in one phase of the Tennessee study. Repeated observations pointed conclusively to characteristic behavior implied in the teacher's account. Some of these were: (1) Mr. X continually strives for careful group problem analysis; helps group recognize points of agreement; (2) Most people with whom he works have important responsibilities in which they are genuinely interested; (3) Attempts to involve staff members and students in major policy formulation; (4) Facilitates a stimulating and well-ordered climate conducive to reaching group decisions; (5) Moves surely and judiciously in effecting policies.

THE EFFECTIVE EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATOR

Having examined selected statements of behavioral characteristics and having seen them demonstrated in two accounts of administrative behavior, it is now possible to proceed with an abstract summary of the characteristics of the effective school administrator. This can be generally categorized under the paragraph headings which follow:

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS The effective school administrator instills close interpersonal relations with and among the group involved in the administrative endeavor. He promotes closeness as opposed to promoting distance between people. His constituents speak of him with a striking absence of defense. He helps groups organize in terms of purposes, interests and special abilities in order to fully release and achieve the coöperative utilization of the intelligence of the immediate group. The staff with whom he works reflects the stability and morale which accrue from judicious implementation of coöperatively developed school policies, plans, and procedures. The effective school administrator urges the use of processes consistent with democratic values.

INTELLIGENT OPERATION Effective educational administrators are critical in the identification and definition of educational problems in their situation. In fact, much of their discussion with people centers around problems about which they are seeking solutions. The effective school leader is consistent in terms of basic educational beliefs and has considerable ability to discuss why he took certain past actions as a person. He is especially cognizant of the special abilities and skills among the school staff. The effective school leader seldom repeats a mistake. In fact, he appears to have generally profited in increased understandings and skills as a result of recognizing personal mistakes. The effective educational administrator appears to have carefully reflected on his own status position and has assumed responsibilities commensurate with the truly important functions inherent in the status position.

EMOTIONAL STABILITY The statement characterizing the most effective administrator on the Tennessee Rating Guide states, "Appears to meet crises with a contagious calmness; others feel at ease in his presence." Obviously this is not a characterization of the excitable person who shouts "fire" in a crowded gymnasium. However, it is just as important to see that this statement should not be interpreted as characterizing a moron who does not have enough insight to get excited. Anyone who has had experience with such a status leader will quickly recognize that he fails to promote a "contagious calmness" among a group. In fact, just the opposite is generally true in a crisis situation where no insightful leadership is present. The effective educational administrator helps create a calm, collected feeling which helps a group meet and confidently analyze a crisis.

ETHICAL AND MORAL STRENGTH The effective educational administrator tenaciously follows the truth as opposed to expediency as a means of action. He has definite, personally understood convictions and is willing to abide by them even though such action may not always be personally beneficial to him. This does not imply that he is a "pig headed" individual who insists that he has the truth yet refuses to have his truths examined experimentally. The effective educational administrator arrives at his truths through the coöperative use of experimentation. He may be observed publicly to admit he is "wrong" in the light of new evidence. No one doubts the effective educational leader's intentions in view of his high integrity. The staff members

feel assured that he will not intentionally violate staff agreements reached through the coöperative use of intelligence.

ADEQUACY OF COMMUNICATION The effective educational administrator promotes excellent communication in and among the group involved in an endeavor. One observes that he is effective in communicating abstract ideas to individuals and groups. In addition to his ability to clearly convey his position to others, he is a good listener. Listening is one of the qualities of communication which many people overlook in prospective administrators. The Tennessee study indicates that the ability to listen, to grasp ideas expressed by others, is one of the characteristics necessary for success in school administration. The effective educational administrator interests people in and stimulates their considered analysis of new ideas in education. This is an element in his ability to communicate with people effectively. Finally, the effective educational administrator facilitates group communication and discussion through a climate conducive to reaching group decisions. He is highly skilled in helping discussion groups recognize and accept points of agreement through democratic processes.

OPERATION AS A CITIZEN Effective educational administrators are well informed about significant social, political, and economic trends and events which affect education. For example, they discuss intelligently the possible educational implications of such developments as automation in industry. They understand the importance of the school as an agency to improve living in the community and generally believe in the rights of all community groups to have a voice in the operation of the public schools. The effective school administrator has a working knowledge of the important community agencies and forces which affect education. In effect he is looked upon as one of the important leaders in the community.

ARE BEHAVIORAL CHARACTERISTICS THE ONLY DETERMINANTS OF EFFECTIVENESS?

The Tennessee staff does not contend that the quality of behavioral characteristics incorporated in the Tennessee Rating Guide are the only factors which determine effectiveness. For example, there is the matter of knowledge of the job to be performed. Certainly an effective school administrator needs a degree of sophistication in functional knowledge in the field of school administration. Since much of the experimentation at Tennessee has been toward selection of people at the pre-service level, it was not feasible to test for the degree of knowledge about the job. One would not expect pre-service students to possess a great body of knowledge about the field of school administration.

On the other hand, it is the considered opinion of the staff that a person with the effective behavioral characteristics described herein will tend to avail himself of the knowledge necessary to perform well on the job. An individual cannot define problems, experiment, interest others in ideas and profit from previous experience without assimilation of knowledge about any field of endeavor.

Looking at the problem from another standpoint, a person with ineffective behavioral characteristics may accumulate much abstract knowledge of the field of school administration and still fail to perform adequately the tasks of school administration. In fact, certain subjective evidence in the Tennessee study indicates this to be a strong hypothesis.

The Tennessee project has revealed that behavioral characteristics apparently make a difference in the degree of success a person enjoys in educational administration. Furthermore, the Tennessee Rating Guide appears to measure some areas of behavioral characteristics which are most critical. It appears that the findings in the Tennessee project have important implications for the pre-service selection and training of school leaders. There is strong indication that the findings may in the future be of help to practicing school administrators in the matter of filling administrative positions within their organizations.

ASK THE MAN WHO RUNS THE SCHOOL

What is competence in school administration? Why not ask successful administrators that question? *The Nation's Schools* addressed this inquiry to some of America's leading school superintendents. The following selection contains their answers.

HOW SHOULD SCHOOL BOARDS MEASURE THE COMPETENCE OF AN ADMINISTRATOR?

COMPETENCE in a superintendent means that the objectives of the school system are being reached because of his efforts. Obviously, the school board must first determine the areas in which it believes its superintendent should provide leadership.

It seems clear that the major emphasis should be in over-all educational or instructional leadership. The board therefore might determine the competence of its superintendent on the basis of how effectively he helps the staff and citizens:

1. To clarify educational goals.
2. To evaluate the adequacy of the program in relation to these goals.
3. To engage in a vigorous program of curriculum development and instructional improvement.

The board also might evaluate the superintendent's ability to coordinate and to organize the school system for effective learning. His ability to develop teamwork is highly important.

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The board's analysis of the superintendent's competence might be influenced by the manner in which the superintendent presents his recommendations to the board, his ability to communicate effectively when he talks to groups, and his ability to resolve problems and issues in conferences with groups or individuals.—ROBERT S. GILCHRIST, *superintendent, University City, Mo.*

A board of education has the responsibility to protect the rights of three important groups of people. First and foremost, the board must see to it that the *boys and girls* receive a good education. Second, the board must ensure that *staff members* who serve the boys and girls have adequate remuneration and reasonable security. Third, the board must protect the *taxpayer* by making certain that the schools are operated on a sound business basis.

To fulfill these and other responsibilities properly, the board must receive a constant flow of important information from the superintendent and staff which is essential to any sound program of evaluation. Evaluation of the school system is a basic function of the board of education, operating in *partnership* with the school staff. This enables the board to determine strengths and weaknesses as the basis for necessary improvement.

Such evaluation should shed light on the personal integrity and professional competence of the superintendent as well as on his general leadership in the school and community.

Many boards today devote considerable time at their meetings in hearing staff reports on various phases of their educational programs. Test results and the record of the school system's graduates in the university and in industry reflect the quality of curriculum and instruction. A constructive community attitude and high staff morale are indications of administrative leadership that is accepted and respected.

There is little excuse for an informed board to suddenly dismiss its superintendent. Such abrupt dismissals probably are based on lack of information, misinformation or prejudice.—C. C. TRILLINGHAM, *superintendent of schools, Los Angeles.*

Any fair-minded board of education can determine when its school administrator is competent. A superintendent and a board that are working together professionally have a projected program that determines procedures and end results. They have agreed on objectives and on methods of reaching the objectives. Necessarily, a superintendent must be in a recognized position of leadership with the board of education, not authoritarian, but advisory and persuasive.

Unless a superintendent and his board of education can agree on basic principles (in broad outline) at the beginning of their association, neither the board nor the superintendent should be willing to accept such a joint responsibility. Prejudice, personal pique, and professional emasculation of the superintendent by the board have no place in their relationships.

Likewise, no professional superintendent will undercut his board. Accordingly, so long as they maintain working conditions pointed toward achieving

an originally agreed upon program, punishment through the firing of the superintendent will never be involved.—W. T. WHITE, *superintendent, Dallas.*

In general, when a cordial relationship exists between the board and the superintendent, many questions of difference can be resolved without any apparent conflict. When the board and the public seem to be satisfied with the schools and everyone is kept informed, the superintendent is regarded as competent.

In reality, boards of education need some additional help in the evaluation of their chief executive, since such evaluation is often rather technical. State departments of education personnel, in their capacity as supervisors of the state schools, should be in a position to offer such help to school boards. This should not be done in any dictatorial manner, but in a factual way—setting forth criteria for successful administrators.—WALTER C. REUSSER, *director, adult education and community service, University of Wyoming, Laramie.*

Objectively a board could measure the work of a superintendent by determining whether the assigned responsibilities had been carried out. If a building were torn down and the administration failed to cancel insurance thereon, this would be an objective method of measuring effectiveness. Also, if written directions from the administrator's office were either contrary to written board policies, or not consistent from one time to another, this again would be objective evidence.

Often, however, difficulties between school administrators and boards are on a personal, nonobjective basis. These differences are almost impossible to measure objectively.—C. L. CRAWFORD, *president, Mankato State College, Mankato, Minn.*

The board of education must recognize fully that its function is one of policy making. The superintendent is charged with the responsibility of implementing these policies as a part of his administrative leadership. Any other approach can well bring chaos.

A profile of the American school superintendent shows that he is "an educator, not solely a businessman; a man with ideas; one who brings innovations in personnel administration and curriculum."

If the board of education sees fit to dismiss the superintendent for "incompetence" or "temperamental incompatibility with the board," its reasons should be spelled out cogently and convincingly.—PAUL D. WEST, *superintendent of schools, Fulton County, Atlanta.*

A school board should gauge the competence and effectiveness of its chief school administrator by making as careful judgments as possible with regard to the quality of his leadership, the amount of progress in achieving educational objectives, and the relevance and effectiveness of the processes used in discharging his functions.

The board should try to gain a good understanding of the procedures used by the superintendent in such aspects as:

1. Formulating aims and objectives of instruction, planning changes in curriculum and instruction, and introducing other changes in organization or operation.
2. Developing information relevant to decisions on budgets, buildings, bond issues, supplies and equipment.
3. Selecting principals, teachers and other staff members.
4. Communicating with parents, community organizations, and citizens generally.

The board should study the progress made under the superintendent's leadership over a period of years in these areas:

1. Staff development through the filling of vacancies with well qualified persons and provisions for the growth of those employed.
2. Relationships with the community as evidenced by support of school programs, expressions of citizens regarding curriculum and instruction, and participation of organizations and individual citizens in study and planning activities.
3. Educational achievement as indicated by the proportion of students graduating from high school or completing specified years of schooling, records on achievement tests, success in college, and other measures—always remembering to exercise due caution and to seek guidance from qualified experts in interpreting measures of achievement to prevent false comparisons, or over-emphasis of certain types of achievement.

The board should appraise the quality of the superintendent's leadership by considering:

1. The consistency and value of the ideas for the advancement of education that emanate from the superintendent himself, from his administrative staff, and from the faculties of the several schools.
2. The wisdom and breadth of knowledge exhibited in recommendations to the board and in his administrative decisions.
3. The amount of carefully planned systematically evaluated experimentation that is occurring in the schools.
4. The enthusiasm and morale exhibited by teachers and other staff members.

The evaluation should be based upon criteria which have been developed and agreed upon by the board and the superintendent.

It is desirable that the board also develop criteria for evaluating its own functioning and that it use these criteria to evaluate its own performance as systematically and as rigorously as it evaluates that of the superintendent.

The board should communicate promptly and frankly to its chief school officer its evaluation of his performance and achievements, and should invite and study his reaction to the evaluation.

A superintendent should not be dismissed or be denied reappointment without being informed of reasons for dissatisfaction. Except in cases of clear malfeasance or misfeasance the decision not to continue his services should

be reached only after the superintendent has had opportunity to remedy shortcomings revealed by the board's evaluation.—FRANCIS S. CHASE, *dean, graduate school of education, University of Chicago.*

A school board can determine the competence of its chief school administrator only when the judgments it makes are based upon clearly defined criteria. Written policies should enumerate specifically the personal and professional qualifications that are expected of the administrator. They should include precise statements covering the functions and responsibilities of the chief administrator and spell out in some detail the procedures that are expected to govern working relationships between the administrator and the board.

In entering into contractual agreements, both administrators and boards should insist that the intent of written policies covering qualifications and responsibilities are understood and acceptable to both.

I am firmly convinced that boards of education will continue to appraise the competence of their chief school administrators upon the basis of emotion, irrelevant issues, and subjective judgments until these matters are clearly defined in written policy statements and reflected in contractual agreements.—PAUL J. MISNER, *superintendent of schools, Glencoe, Ill.*

Reasons given for the dismissal of a superintendent, as is generally known, rarely tell the whole story. More often than not they are intended to camouflage rather than to reveal the true causes for the action—to protect either the board or the administrator, or both.

The charges of "incompetence" and "disagreement" are becoming popular ways of indicating lack of confidence or general incompatibility. To treat them as real causes of dismissal would be to ignore the more fundamental reasons for the apparent number of dismissals that have recently taken place.

The rash of abrupt and unanticipated termination of contracts of superintendents, many of whom are leaders in their profession, probably reflects the growing state of anxiety over the nation's public schools more than it does the competence of the particular individual administrator involved. The pressure to change the emphasis in educational programs from the social to the intellectual have caught many administrators unprepared.

In addition, the rapid expansion and consolidation of school districts has created new and unpredictable heterogeneities in the composition of school communities. Such changes have brought onto school boards many new members who are poorly oriented to customary professional procedures for dealing with school personnel problems, yet who are highly motivated to achieve immediate changes in school programs.

In the new thrusts for excellence in education, the superintendent is often caught in the middle between the ideas of a board that is pushing for change and the status quo of the school program which he helped to develop and for which he, in the eyes of the board and segments of the community, must take the blame. Community ideals for and demands on schools are evolving so

rapidly that *a superintendent may find himself condemned today for defending a practice for which he was praised yesterday for inaugurating.*

Furthermore, the educational cause he champions may enjoy the endorsement of the professors of school administration under whom he took his training and who authored the books which he accepts as reliable guides. More likely than not, it has the blessing of various national professional groups. In such circumstances, the dismissal of a particular superintendent may in reality represent a rejection by a school board of the popular dogma accepted by professional educators.

In effect, the administrator may be dismissed for refusal to turn against the philosophy of education he was taught and which he knows to be endorsed by most of his colleagues. When such is the case, *perhaps the blame for the dismissal should be shared by preparing institutions as well as by the entire profession of school administration.*

The superintendent who neglects his own independent scholarship, or who is so busy with the day-to-day tasks of administration that he fails to keep abreast of the times is vulnerable to being caught defending educational objectives and practices that citizens and school board members are rejecting. When he is, it is inevitable that he will be charged with incompatibility to the community's educational aspirations.

Only the administrator whose own scholarship is sufficiently broad, deep and persistent to permit him to understand the educational aspirations of all segments of his community, who is sensitive to changing attitudes about schools, who is sufficiently flexible to adapt his own philosophy to the demands of his public, and who is skillful enough to guide school board members toward wise educational decisions—only such an able administrator can hope to escape conflict with his board and community in these unsettled times.

—LINDLEY J. STILES, *dean, school of education, University of Wisconsin, Madison.*

There are three distinct periods that should be considered in the evaluation of a school administrator: (1) initial selection, (2) probationary period (two to three years), and (3) continuing service after probation.

INITIAL SELECTION In addition to the normal duties expected of a school administrator, the board should determine specific jobs to be done and the qualifications desired. It should seek professional assistance in obtaining nominations for the best candidates available. In making the final selection, the board should acquaint itself with the candidate's previous record of success and his professional training, experience and personal qualities for handling the job.

PROBATIONARY PERIOD A board should not expect too much too soon. It takes a new man two or three years to become familiar with the local situation and get the school program under way. This is particularly true if there are special problems in a district regarding school construction, staff morale, and desired curriculum improvements.

Evaluation of a superintendent should be in terms of the duties and respon-

sibilities outlined for him at the time of appointment. The more care that has been given to this in the beginning, the less will be the misunderstandings that lead to conflict between the board and the superintendent.

The board should consider in its evaluation not only the relations with members of the board, but the leadership exercised by the superintendent on the total educational program. It should ask itself to what extent the educational program has moved forward and the goals established been fulfilled. If they have not come up to the expectations of the board, the board should then ask itself whether there are other factors, such as lack of sufficient administrative and supervisory personnel to assist the superintendent, or budgetary limitations, that have handicapped the superintendent in obtaining the kind of teachers and other personnel desired.

A good board would want to know how the superintendent's work is judged by his staff and professional colleagues. Do they respect the superintendent and hold him in high esteem for his professional leadership?

CONTINUING SERVICE It is essential that there be good working relations between the superintendent and his board. These can best be accomplished through the establishment of sound written policies that are known to all concerned. The superintendent and his professional staff should be held responsible for the administration of these policies.

Conflicts too often arise where the superintendent tries to establish policy and individual board members perform administrative functions. This does not mean the superintendent should refrain from recommending desirable policies. It is his professional obligation to do so. He should apprise the board continuously of the effectiveness of these policies.

Some of the things that a board might wish to consider in the evaluation of its chief administrative officer are:

1. To what extent is he sensitive to the needs of the schools, and does he communicate these needs to the board?
2. To what extent does he have the courage to recommend policies and course of action even though the cost appears to be unpalatable at the time?
3. To what extent is he alert to contemporary problems and is actively working to bring about needed improvements in the instructional program?
4. To what extent are teachers and others attracted to the school system or retained by it—because of the professional standing of its superintendent and the educational leadership he exerts?
5. How effective is he in selecting administrative and teaching personnel, bearing in mind salary schedules and budget limitations?
6. Does he delegate responsibility to others and permit them freedom to operate within established policy?
7. How effective is he in maintaining good community relations? Is he a good listener as well as speaker? Is he open-minded, open to suggestions? Is he ethical and fair in all his relationships? Is he flexible in his administration without permitting individuals or groups to take unfair advantage?

It seems to me that one of the causes for the increased number of superintendents being dismissed is that many communities are now feeling a dis-

satisfaction with their educational system. The tension that has been focused on the schools by the international situation and the pressure of getting graduates into college have caused a sudden desire to do something. Many boards of education believe that their schools are not as good as they should be. They are looking for someone to blame. In many cases it is the superintendent who gets the ax.

People fail to realize that you cannot bring about improvement overnight. As a nation, we are suffering from years of neglect and inadequate fiscal support for our schools. Teachers salaries have been low, schools have been inadequately staffed, and budget appropriations have not been sufficient to purchase supplies and equipment to maintain the schools as they should be.

Instead of blaming the superintendent, boards of education might well examine themselves to see whether they have given sufficient support to the superintendent. In some cases the board may justifiably say that the superintendent has not "laid it on the line" by stressing the needs. On the other hand, after years of fruitless effort, many superintendents have become weary and resigned themselves to living with the situation. It is high time that everyone work to accelerate the improvement that is so drastically needed.—EDMUND H. THORNE, *superintendent of schools, West Hartford, Conn.*

THE DISTAFF SIDE OF THE PICTURE

Women were more commonly employed in school administrative positions in the first half of the twentieth century than in the second half. What are the reasons for the relatively unfavorable position of women in administration? The following selection deals with this question.

WOMEN IN ADMINISTRATION

Harris A. Taylor

ARE WOMEN executives becoming extinct? In education, yes. For years, women have steadily been disappearing from administrative posts in our public schools. NEA data show that, in the eleven years between 1950 and 1961, the percentage of women elementary school principals in cities of all sizes decreased by nearly 20 percent. From 1950 to 1955, the percentage of cities having no women junior high school principals increased, except for those

SOURCE: From *American School and University*, December 1963, pp. 21-23. Reprinted by permission of the *American School and University*.

cities with a population of more than 500,000. The overall increase came to 25 percent.

And the NEA also finds that more and more cities have no women high school principals at all, with the trend on the increase. The story is essentially the same for women directors and supervisors. The percentage of women in such positions dropped from 50.1 to 43.4 between 1950 and 1955 (for all cities except those with over 500,000 population).

In short, fewer and fewer women are being appointed to administrative positions in education. What are the reasons behind the decline and this obvious waste of an important "natural resource"?

One hypothesis is that men are better suited to educational administration, and that there are basic differences between the sexes in administrative ability. Available evidence indicates that this is not so; men are not naturally superior.

For example, almost identical grades were awarded to both men and women over a one year period by seven professors of school administration at Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, Calif. Where there was a difference, it was in favor of the women students. Admittedly limited in scope, these data do suggest that there would probably be no significant difference between the sexes—academically that is—if broader studies were made of their progress in administrative preparatory work.

Perhaps the most fruitful study in this field was conducted by John Hemphill, Daniel Griffiths, and Norman Frederiksen, who published their results in *Administrative Performance and Personalities* (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, Columbia University). These gentlemen developed a simulated school on paper and film, and a number of special tests were devised. For their experiment they presented administrative problems, based on the hypothetical school, to 137 men and 95 women elementary school principals. The results were summarized in October, 1962, as follows:

When superiors and teachers evaluated on-the-job performances of both men and women principals, both groups *rated the men principals lower than the women.*

Women asked subordinates for information, tended to discuss their problems more with superiors and outsiders, and used the information they found in background materials somewhat more frequently than did the men. In contrast, men made more decisions, followed pre-established routines more closely, and took a greater number of terminal actions. These aspects of administrative style help to explain why *women principals are preferred by supervisors and teachers.*

As former instructors, the women were more concerned with teaching, pupil participation, and the evaluation of learning. In the eyes of superiors, and in their evaluations of probationary teacher performance, *women were more able or willing to provide instructional leadership.*

Scores on tests of mental ability showed *no extreme differences.* Women scored slightly higher in verbal fluency and number facility while the men did better on reasoning and visualization.

All this evidence seems to support a preference for women and not men

when filling elementary school principalships. In fact, one could build a positive case here for preferring women, although the major findings of this study might not hold true as a test of women's ability to fill other school administrative positions. But it does prove that men are not superior to women—at least not always.

If lack of ability is not a factor, can the decline of women administrators (in number, that is) be blamed on discrimination? Women often do cite discrimination as the primary reason for not receiving their share of administrative appointments. But if discrimination does exist to any great extent, it does not seem to be a widespread, official policy. Even a casual review of the policy handbooks of school districts reveals no such sanctions.

It is frequently said that men teachers are not in favor of having women administrators over them. Alice S. Barter found that, ironically, men who have never worked with a woman administrator tend to be more unfavorable toward them than men who have.

Since there is an increasing number of school districts in which there are no junior or senior high school principals who are women, more and more men school teachers will never have the experience of working with a woman administrator, and the atmosphere of disfavor is nurtured. A vicious cycle seems to be in the offing.

What about motivation? The old story is that many women teachers don't want to be, or aren't in a position to be, administrators. There does seem to be some truth in this proposition. For example, Alice Barter found that 46 percent of the men elementary teachers and only 7.8 percent of women elementary teachers expressed an interest in becoming an elementary school principal. The female disinterest could very well exist in regard to other administrative positions. The apparent lack of motivation among women can be supported by several facts.

First, NEA data reveal that 83.7 percent of the husbands of all married women teachers living with their spouses hold some kind of job. In contrast, about 30 percent of the wives of men teachers work. Furthermore, only 7.6 percent of women teachers have an additional paying job during the school year, while the figure for men is a staggering 47.4 percent. It is apparent that women teachers do not have, or need to have, the strong drive for additional income that characterizes their male colleagues.

Many findings show that women are not, in general, preparing themselves for administrative positions in education. In 1962 less than 16 percent had two college degrees. Forty percent of the men did. Men hold four doctoral degrees in education to every one held by a woman. Also, there is evidence that women are not earning administrative credentials at the same rate as men.

For example, since 1956, 279 men and only 101 women have enrolled in courses in school administration at the Claremont Graduate School. This could very well mean that women are not going about the business of preparing themselves for promotion to administrative posts.

Another reason behind women's failure to achieve administrative positions is that they move around too much. An NEA study shows that 45.2 percent of men teachers have been teaching in only one school system. In contrast, 30.9 percent of women teachers have been with one system. Since school districts tend to give preference to teachers with tenure when filling administrative positions, men have a decided advantage.

Career interruptions also account for the lack of women appointees to educational administrative posts. The teaching careers of women show a long record of leaves and temporary retirements for one reason or another. Two-thirds of the married teachers, the NEA reveals, have taken at least one extended absence from teaching.

Not surprisingly, women teachers collectively have a median age of 45.5 years, as opposed to 33.6 years for men. In the age bracket of 26 to 35 years men teachers actually outnumber women. These figures may mean that as women approach the age when the first administrative position is attained, they have not had the continuity or length of service which would enable them to compete successfully with men.

Women do have valuable abilities to bring to school administration and more of them should be appointed to responsible positions. A reasonable balance of highly-motivated, well-trained men and women administrators would give any school district certain strengths not usually present where one sex is overwhelmingly dominant.

The question is, how can more women be brought into administration? First of all, school districts have the responsibility to become more aggressive in recruiting and training women as administrators. Women need to be encouraged and guided. One of the best ways to do this is to give distaff members of the staff ample evidence to show they do have a chance for advancement.

A good recruiting program also identifies, early in their careers, those women who demonstrate qualities which the district wants in its administrators. District officials should encourage these women to complete the requirements for administrative credentials, and for master's degrees. In addition, districts should set up a long-range plan for a sensible sequence of teaching and semi-administrative positions, along with participation in district or college-sponsored administrative training programs.

Women educators, themselves, need to assume more responsibility for choosing an administrative career. They need to realize that school administration will be stronger if it has a reasonable number of women administrators.

Women who hold administrative credentials should press for appointments to administrative posts. Upon appointment to these positions, they have an obligation to demonstrate that they have unique contributions to make to administration.

Also, both women teachers and their superiors should consider carefully the implications of the feminine life-cycle. Women who return to teaching after a prolonged interruption, and there are many of them, have to upgrade

their teaching skills and their knowledge of content. They should also be encouraged to take a fresh look at administration as a possible goal. These women have had the experience of raising a family, they have maturity, and, usually, they are eager to make a contribution to society.

Above all, the younger generation of women teachers should begin now to take a long view of their lives, of what they want in the way of advancement, and to plan accordingly for careers in school administration. The profession needs them.

WHAT IS FAILURE?

Finally, when the superintendent of schools is dismissed from his position (and the average American school superintendent has little job protection) is it a sign that he is a failure? Or is he a victim of the times and the pressures which surround the job? The final selection of this book deals with the problem and concludes with the idea that "failure may be the sign of success."

WHY SUPERINTENDENTS FAIL

Frederick J. Moffitt

THE OFTEN recurring separation between school administrators and their schools is nothing particularly recent. It happened to Dr. Socrates because he drank too much hemlock at an educational convention. It would have clobbered Mr. Chips, save that he had a strong admirer on the school board. It occurs daily in scores of more and less publicized cases. The inscription on a thousand bronze honor plaques and cornerstones bears record that the school superintendent usually departs hastily before the building program is completed. A histrionic testimonial dinner to a school administrator is no proof that the honored guest is not being given a secret hotfoot along with the customary traveling bag.

ADMINISTRATIVE FLUX AND FLOW

Whatever the causes of the flux and flow of school administrators, it is a commonly accepted fact that they fail more controversially, more militantly,

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and more publicly than is the case in any other profession. A superintendent of schools seems to be an occupational hazard suffered (not silently) by boards of education who are always looking for a bigger bargain; by bank presidents who are reluctant to extend credit beyond 30 days, and by operators of moving vans who are largely supported by educational hegiras.

Administrative failure may be defined as that condition of affairs which results in undesirable termination, abrupt dismissal, or unexpected abrogation of contract; of having one's wife snubbed at the Sewing Society or one's self blamed for circumstances beyond one's control; of being hooted at by adolescents and zealously bitten by canines sicked on with community approbation, and encouragement; of an increase in nervous indigestion and stomach ulcers above and beyond the regular call of duty. When these events occur simultaneously to a school superintendent, it should be a warning that he has failed in some small measure or, what is more important, his employers think he has failed.

Why do such events so often gang up on school administrators? Why do school superintendents bloom for such a brief period, or even less? By careful study of the reasons for failure, a few school heads may be saved and education may go forward more smoothly than is ordinarily the American wont.

The common failures appear to fall into four classifications: (1) the peculiar physical appearance of the administrator; (2) the personality characteristics of school administrators and the majority of their public; (3) the enmity of such organizations as The Sons of Beech Tree Preservation, the Society of Mrs. Bustys, and the Retired Taxpayers' Association, and (4) the unfortunate juxtaposition of the stars on no particular date or for no foreseeable reason. While these causes of failure may be symptomatic only and not the disease itself, they result in painful hiatuses which can become the subject of doubt and inferiority complexes.

In its most peculiar manifestations, the physical appearance of the superintendent is partly a result of inheritance, or less often it may come from attendance at an Ivy League College. It can be minimized to some extent by proper prechoice of a community, *e.g.*, basketball crazed districts ordinarily are allergic to a five-by-five model, while portliness is out of place in a calorie-conscious exurbanity. In general, not much can be done about physical appearance except built-up shoes or reducing tablets. To avoid such unpleasant measures, the administrator should attempt to conform somewhat to the prevailing mode of the community, not including spats.

Much more important as causes of failure are personality characteristics such as boorishness, lack of tact, unfriendliness, bad temper, bad manners, refusal to vote the right ticket, belligerency and lack of attention when the school board is considering the bills. If a school administrator could enroll in a charm school, employ a personal psychiatrist, and get 10 hours sleep every night, he probably would never fail. Lacking these opportunities, he should agree or disagree as graciously as possible without appeasement.

MRS. BUSTY'S PRESSURE GREATEST

As real causes of failure, all of these physical, personal, mental and spiritual deficiencies pale into insignificance in the face of community pressures, such as Mrs. Busty and the aforementioned Sons of B's. Mrs. Busty is not so much an individual as an organization or a personal disaster. She represents a state of mind motivated by an irresistible force. School administrators who feel that they can cut down Mrs. Busty *et al.* to a reasonable size are too often mistaken. There will always be a Mrs. Busty in every community.

Some maintain that she should be ignored, but the resultant battle cries are not conducive to peace and harmony. The more successful administrator feels that with a stiff backbone, a lot of luck, and a resolute board of education who appreciates its own responsibility, life with Mrs. Busty can be tolerated. The author of this study, who in a long lifetime with Mrs. Busty has never yet won a permanent victory with the old gal, has no solution. Happily, available data show that while more apparent failures are caused by Mrs. Busty than by all other means combined, most of these failures are temporary and have little social significance in the on-going career of a school superintendent.

The most puzzling cause of administrative failure is more difficult to elucidate. It lies in the stars and is largely a matter of how they congregate. The most scholarly, brilliant, able and conscientious school administrator is bound to fail temporarily if the stars are wrong or if the music of the spheres is off key.

The wary superintendent will therefore make a continuing study of community astronomy and cultivate an introspective attitude not given to ordinary mortals. At the same time, he will allot a considerable portion of his working day, but not too much, for heaven's sake, to stargazing as it affects his curriculum, his philosophy, his social relationships, and his public relations. Truism! No leader of youth will ever fail seriously if he communes with the stars and interprets them to the school and the community he leads.

It will be recognized that these four reasons for administrative failure are much too general to be of immediate help to an on-going school superintendent. As a practical administrator and a conservator of family funds, he will need more specific data before he assumes a larger mortgage and some tumble-down school buildings. In order to make this study of uprisings and down-sittings more useful, the author decided to interview the particular groups who combine, cooperate, resist and otherwise participate in the success or failure of a school superintendent. The groups thus selected for questionnaires, interviews and recriminations included boards of education, public representatives (excluding Mrs. Busty), parents and grandparents, teachers, children and Old Man McGillicuddy. McGillicuddy was chosen because he is possibly the only known school administrator who, until his unexplained retirement, was never involuntarily terminated.

The school boards interviewed, as is so often the case, had many more an-

swers than ideas. In general, their accusations fell into four classifications, plus 271 added comments which were ignored by the survey.

The most common indictment was expressed by the big-mouthed president of my own board at Sugartown. "School administrators are Taggers," he said, "and today, more than ever, we need Leaders. Our generous salary scale, which is almost as high as the local hod carriers union, should attract leaders, but we only get scared administrators who will not lead.

"Where the superintendent leads, the boards will follow," he orated as he fired several teachers and red-penciled a number of curriculums.

More gentle was the opinion expressed by the neighboring Hungry Hollow school board. "Too often," it said sadly, "school superintendents are Piddlers and Fritterers. They get excited over the inconsequential, the insignificant, the irrelevant, the trivial, and the unimportant. They sell pencils instead of education, they supervise loudspeakers rather than teachers, and administer school buses instead of students."

The third most astonishing accusation had some overtones of inconsistency. "Our superintendents who failed were Dodgers," said the board. "They talked a good school but ducked the real issues."

"Of course," explained their spokesman confidentially, "this does not mean that we would employ an administrator without considerable tact and deviousness. Our current reject never could understand that his patrons demand plenty of lip service to old-fashioned woodshed discipline but strongly object to tenderized bottoms. He had a nervous breakdown trying to dodge that well recognized issue."

The clinching accusation came from an extremely high class board, which may not have truly reflected its public. "Some administrators," it asserted, "are merely Well-Diggers. They are experts at digging, excavating and altering. We need fewer Bricklayers and more Dreamers and Stargazers." Having just defended that esoteric ability, our Univac computer had no immediate answer.

"Why do school administrators fail?" our survey asked the public. Here answers were contentious. It is unfortunate that the public was queried at a time when the national motto had just been changed from "Live It Up" to "Get Tough." The replies showed that people in general were somewhat jumpy and grumpy.

Specific charges thrown at the school administrator included (1) lack of discipline, (2) juvenile delinquency, (3) a soft curriculum, (4) an excess of chrome, (5) the five-hour day, (6) the increase of TV commercials, and (7) the high cost of baby sitters. It is to be hoped that before these replies can be correlated and some trend established, the economy may be in a more tender and happier mood. There was considerable ill-natured banter about curriculums where the prevalence of coeducational cooking had replaced some tougher science.

When the real values of coed cooking were explained—that it was an important branch of the social studies involving the very core of existence; that

it had deep psychological nuances in raising the status of the male ego and lowering the divorce rate; that it emphasized sound economics and protected the family pocketbook; and that eventually it might even determine the survival of the species more than a trip to the moon—the public reaction was one of acceptance. “Why didn’t the fellow tell us that. So he won’t talk, huh?” It must be concluded that oftentimes the inability of the superintendent to communicate plain truths in simple language may be a reason for his failure.

PARENTS MORE TOLERANT

Surprisingly, the interviews with parents brought out a more tolerant and forgiving state of mind and it is obvious that, except for a large number of notable and noisy exceptions, parents have little to do with administrative failure. In a few cases, this may be because of fear of reprisal but, generally, parents seem to feel that the superintendent has a tough job and is no more bewildered than they themselves. Suggestions were made that he might try to understand children a little better, speak to parental groups more and service clubs less, and be a little more understanding of parental problems. Some felt that, in the rush for bigger schools, their children were being consolidated. Others agreed that there should be more and less homework, higher and lower scholarship, less psychology and more guidance, and longer and shorter school hours. Some parents expressed the wish that the superintendent could be more accessible as well as a little less positive, pompous and pedagogical. The administrator who can solve these minor problems is well on his way.

TOO BUSY TO COMMENT

In the interest of accuracy, it must be recorded that the interviews with teachers as to why superintendents fail were somewhat a flop. The teachers were too busy to comment. Most of them were hysterically reviewing notes taken in their college science classes, buying telescopes, and calling the fire department as they dodged the rockets prepared by their little charges. Others were preparing noisome scientific experiments for their pupils or planning visits to the local observatories and herbariums. Fortunately, much of the needed data were available through a former survey (“What Teachers Want,” *The Nation's Schools*, September 1957), where the three most important demands of teachers on their administrators were found to be supervision, appreciation and belonging. The former study proves that the superintendent who does not supply these teacher needs plus a few more tangible items, such as a reasonable salary schedule, adequate equipment, and somewhat more job security than he himself ever hopes to have, will soon find himself in the faculty doghouse.

Similarly, the survey of the children added little light on the question. Most of the pupils queried were vague and confused. “Our superintendents come and go so fast,” said one intelligent moppet, “that we don’t get to know any

of them by sight. However," he added, with some pride, "their pictures are often in the newspaper, especially when they are leaving." Inasmuch as this comment had no relevance, it was not considered.

On this melancholy note, the study seemed to have reached an impasse. It was with slight anticipation that the contradictory findings were collated for former Supt. McGillicuddy in the hope that his amazing 15 year record of job tenure might shed further light on the question.

"This is about what I would expect," said McGillicuddy after studying the returns. "You obviously failed to see the executive career because of the brickbats.

"It is true that superintendents, being human, fail. A few fail because they are unfit or incompetent or physically unable to carry on. A few fail because they grow old, tired, cynical or disillusioned. Some fail because they succeed too quickly. Others probably get too involved with involvement, projected because of the multiplicity of projects, or rolled because of role-playing.

"Basically, however, failure in school administration comes about because the administrator and his public fail to recognize the importance, magnitude and complexity of the job. Our schools are facing the greatest challenge in their history—the problem of a changing physical, social, economic and moral world. Schoolmastery today is a big job and not for picayune thinkers, a tough job not for weaklings, an heroic job not for cowards. It is a job which needs rethinking and reorientation, which constantly demands more wisdom, imagination, courage, leadership, understanding and humility.

"I know of no single group," said McGillicuddy, "where these very qualities are possessed in greater measure than by the thousands of dedicated school administrators in America. I know of no other job where failure occurs so seldom."

MCGILlicuddy SUMS IT UP

As McGillicuddy spoke, he glanced out of the window. Without dismay he observed the long line of moving vans carrying the household goods of scores of educational migrants. He heard the strident cries of newsboys as they proclaimed the results of the latest battles in near-by districts.

"Don't be misled by outward appearances," said McGillicuddy. "Many of these folk are leaving for more pleasant climates and more vigorous communities. Others are marching on to new satisfactions and greater challenges. But in practically every case, each one has left a community which will be richer and stronger because of his labors.

"Your study of the failure of school administrators is all wet," said McGillicuddy dryly, "because you failed fundamentally to define or analyze the meaning of failure. You failed to perceive that in our complex modern civilization a school administrator must sometimes play the part of a gadfly on the public epidermis and philosophically accept the swat aimed at him. You failed to understand that in school administration, more often than not, failure may be the sign of success."

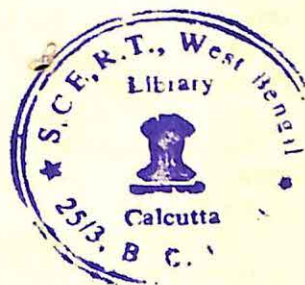
SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Devise a rating chart to measure the effectiveness of the district superintendent. Should the major emphasis be placed on the possession of certain traits of character, or on performance? Into what categories does the work of the superintendent fall?
2. What evidence do you find to substantiate the assertion that "A superintendent is really effective when he gets fired"?
3. Analyze the statements of the ten superintendents and then summarize their values in one paragraph.
4. What differences in method of rating the superintendent are apparent today which were not present 100 years ago?
5. Identify the groups which instinctively rate the school superintendent, and show how the concepts of "good" and "bad" may differ from group to group.
6. Discuss the difficulty of identifying the "successful" superintendent of schools. What does success in school administration mean to you?
7. What does in-service development have to do with success in school administration? Is this true of other professions?
8. Discuss the role of the superintendent in the process of "professional negotiations." What role is best suited to the general superintendent while engaged in such practices?

FURTHER READINGS

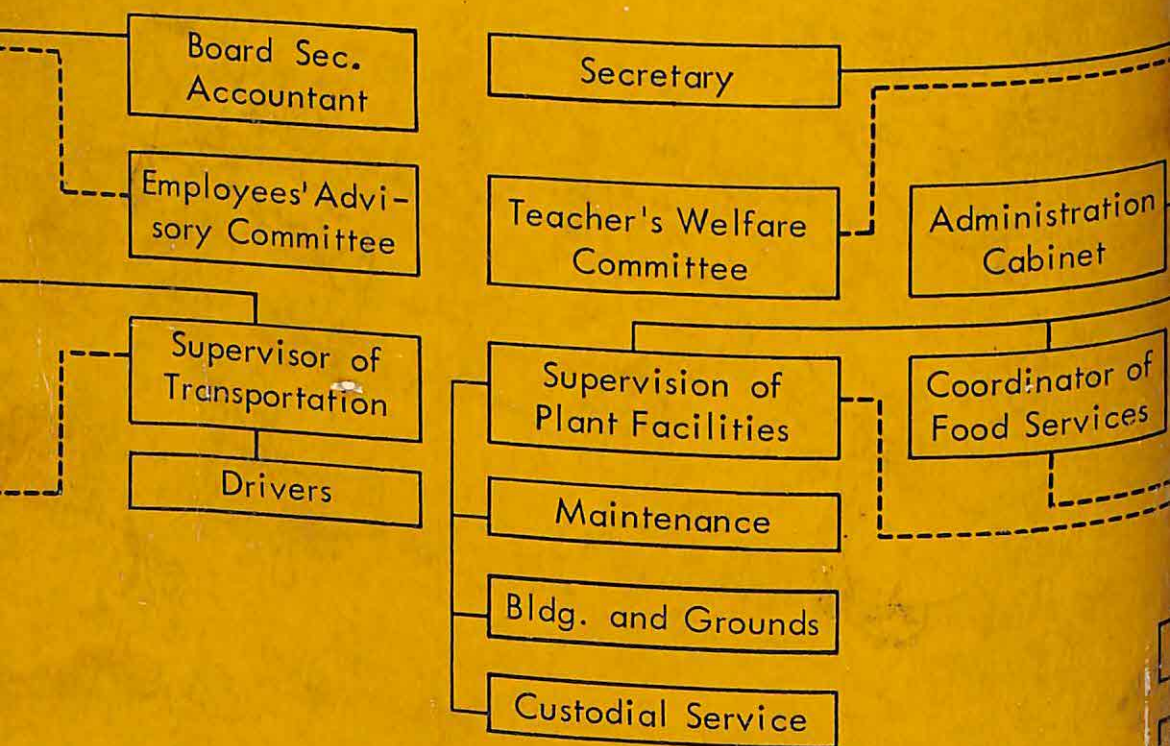
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—— Line of Authority
- - - Line of Cooperation